FOUR

SERMONS

Upon ſeveral Subjects:

VIZ.

I. The Wickedneſs of Aſperſing *PRINCES* and their *Adminiſtration.*

II. The Danger and Miſchiefs of *POPERY.*

III. The Iniquity of Proſtituting the *Name* of the *CHURCH.*

IV. The great Sin of MURMURING, After *Deliverances.*

The three firſt, Preached before the Judges of *Aſſize*; and the fourth, before the Houſe of *Peers*:

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
EDMUND, *Lord Biſhop of* LINCOLN.

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THE PREFACE.

THE following Sermons were firſt preach'd and publiſhed, upon ſpecial Occaſions relating to the Government; and particularly, againſt the Endeavours that have been uſed, in this and the laſt Reign, to undermine the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by diſgracing thoſe Meaſures which were moſt like to ſupport it, and thoſe Perſons who were known to be its beſt Friends.

1. *WHEN Her late Majeſty Queen* Anne, *upon her Acceſſion to the Throne, thought fit to enter into new Meaſures and Counſels, by employing thoſe in her Service who had been* leaſt truſted *in the preceding Reign; ſhe was extolled and magnified by them in the higheſt Strains, and all Expreſſions of Duty and Reſpect were thought too low, and even the* Legitimacy *of the Pretender was given up, on purpoſe to make way for her* Hereditary *Right. But, within a few years, when her Majeſty found cauſe to make a Change in the Adminiſtration, and to Employ others, who, while out of Employments, had concurr'd chearfully in ſupporting her Government, and were known to be moſt hearty in the important Work of humbling and reducing the only Power that could diſturb our Repoſe or defeat*

feat the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line; Upon this Change, however advantageous to her Affairs both at home and abroad, they who had well nigh Ador'd *her before, began now to load her with the vileſt Reproaches, particularly with that of* Deſerting the Church; *diſcovering all imaginable marks of Diſlike and Diſaffection, and ſparing no pains to make her Majeſty and her Government contemptible in the eyes of her People. In the midſt of thoſe Seditious Clamours, the* Judges *of Aſſize were ſpecially directed to Warn the Nation, in the courſe of their ſeveral Circuits, againſt all ſuch Diſloyal Practices: and while they were doing their parts to diſcourage them by the Terrors of the* Law, *it was certainly very proper for the Miniſters of the Goſpel, to purſue the ſame end, upon the* Obligations of Conſcience; *by ſhewing the Inconſiſtency*

ſiſtency of that unworthy Treatment of their Soveraign, with the duty of a Chriſtian *Subject; and (with regard to the quarter from which theſe Reproaches came) by ſhewing further, how ill it appear'd in Members of the* Church of England (*in thoſe, more eſpecially, who would be thought the* only true Church-men) *to forget, in ſo ſhameful a manner, their* diſtinguiſhing *Principle of* Reſpect *and* Reverence *to* Authority. *This*
1705. *is the Subject of the* Firſt *Diſcourſe.*

II. *IT is well known, that the* Papiſts, *who are always ready to inflame our Diſcontents, have ever been ſteady and uniform in their good Wiſhes to one* Side; *and, at that juncture, their Behaviour was remarkably* Offenſive *and* Provoking. *An Addreſs from ſeveral of the Gentry and Clergy in* Lan-

Lancaſhire, *was Preſented to the Houſe of Peers by the Lord Biſhop of* Cheſter, *complaining of the* Intolerable Boldneſs of the *Romiſh* Prieſts and Papiſts: *and thereupon their Lordſhips repreſented to the Queen, That* it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the Safety of her Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government, that a more watchful Eye ſhould be had over them for the future; and, for that purpoſe, that a diſtinct and particular Account ſhould be taken, of all *Papiſts* and reputed *Papiſts* in the Kingdom, with their reſpective Qualities, Eſtates, and Places of Abode. *Accordingly, the neceſſary Orders were given by her Majeſty, for taking a ſtrict Survey of* Popery, *in the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom; and at the ſame time a Proclamation was iſſued, for a vigorous Execution*

of

of the Laws againſt Papiſts. In theſe
1706. circumſtances, was the ſecond Sermon preached and publiſhed: and indeed, at that time, there was great need, upon two other accounts, to keep up in the minds of the People a juſt ſenſe of the Danger and Miſchiefs of Popery; The firſt, becauſe the Papiſts were then carrying on a very dangerous * Stratagem, for gaining Proſelytes to Popery and by that means to the Pretender, by comparing the higheſt Opinions of ſome in our Church with the loweſt Opinions of ſome in their's, concerning the Points in diſpute; and then ſuggeſting, that the differences between the two Churches, were inconſiderable, and next to nothing: The ſecond, That too many of our own Communion, were obſerv'd to Encourage that way of Thinking and Reaſoning, and made it their buſineſs to perſwade the People, that the Fears

* An Eſſay for Catholick Communion.

of

of Popery, were not only groundleſs, but that all Suggeſtions of that kind ſavour'd of Diſaffection to the Church; *eſpecially, if mix'd with any Acknowledgments of the Zealous Concurrence of Diſſenters, in reducing the Power of* France, *as the only means (under God) to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion. To obviate an Evil ſo great and deſtructive, Thoſe of the Clergy who believ'd that Popery was our great* Danger, *and ſaw the tendency of thoſe Practices to undermine and defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion, found themſelves obliged to inculcate* Unanimity *among the* true and undoubted *Friends of that Succeſſion; and to labour to Convince others, of the utter inconſiſtency of a Popiſh Government, with the Religion and Liberties of their Country. And, becauſe it was eaſy to foreſee, that the Papiſts would renew their old Complaint of*

Perſecution *on account of* Religion; *it ſeem'd neceſſary to ſhew from our Hiſtories, that whatever Penalties or Reſtraints they had felt, from the beginning of the Reformation to that day, had been laid upon them for* Sedition, *and not for* Religion.

III. *AFTER the Proteſtant Succeſſion had taken place, and King* GEORGE, *by a ſignal hand of Providence, was in full poſſeſſion of the Throne, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours which had been uſed to prevent it; no Unprejudiced perſon can pretend to ſay, that it was unreaſonable in his Majeſty, to repoſe the greateſt Confidence in thoſe, who had ſhewn the greateſt Zeal to ſecure his Succeſſion; eſpecially, when ſo many others whom he found in Place, had been engaged in meaſures, which (to ſay no worſe) ſtood ſtrongly ſuſpected of*

of looking a very different way. And yet this ſo reaſonable and neceſſary Step, of Truſting *the one and* Diſtruſting *the other, was made the foundation of a general Alarm, That* the Church was in the utmoſt Danger: *Which gave occaſion to the* third *of theſe Diſcourſes, to ſhow,* 1715. *How groundleſs that Alarm was, How often the name of the* Church *had been abuſed before in the like kind, How injurious ſuch Proſtitutions of that ſacred Name, are, to Religion in general, and to the* Church *in particular; and (as to the main pretence of that Clamour) How much leſs Reproachful it is, to be engaged in Meaſures with* Proteſtant Diſſenters *for ſecuring the Government, than to enjoy the Prayers and good Wiſhes of* Papiſts, Non-Jurors, *and the Diſaffected of all Sorts, who can have*

no other Aim, but to undermine and deſtroy it.

IV. *WITH what Deſign that Clamour was raiſed and propagated, and how effectually it anſwer'd the Deſign, became viſible in a very little time, when it ſhew'd it ſelf in* Open Rebellion: *A Rebellion, which muſt have been* fatal *to theſe Kingdoms, if it had not pleaſed God to deliver us, by a Series of moſt happy and remarkable Providences; ſuch as the Nation had* often *experienc'd and been* accuſtom'd *to, from the time of it's firſt and great Deliverance from* Popery. *And when a Solemn Thankſgiving was appointed for this laſt Deliverance, it could not be unſuitable to the occaſion of the Day, to take*
1716. *a View (as the* fourth *of theſe Diſcourſes doth) of the many Signal Deliverances*

liverances which God had vouchſafed to theſe Kingdoms, and of the Ingratitude and Perverſeneſs of great Numbers amongſt us: As well to excite and increaſe the Thankfulneſs *of ſome, as to deter others from* Murmuring *and* Repining, *after ſo many Teſtimonies of the divine Goodneſs: Eſpecially, when they ſaw how near a Reſemblance* their *Murmurings bore to thoſe of the* Iſraelites, *and knew the terrible Expreſſions of God's anger againſt that* ungrateful *and* obſtinate *People.*

THUS much may ſuffice, concerning the ſeveral Occaſions *of Preaching and Publiſhing the four following Sermons. And as to the* Seaſonableneſs *of publiſhing them together, at this time, I will beg leave to obſerve two things; The* firſt, *concerning*

cerning the Diſcourſes *themſelves, That if they do in any meaſure anſwer the ſeveral Deſigns, Of bringing mankind to pay that Honour and Reverence to their* Prince, *which both Reaſon and Religion require at their hands, Of keeping up in the minds of the People a juſt ſenſe and apprehenſion of the Danger and Miſchiefs of* Popery, *Of reſcuing the Name of the* Church *from being proſtituted to the Intereſt and Ambition of Deſigning Men; and, Of raiſing among us a Spirit of Thankfulneſs and Gratitude to God, for the many Bleſſings and Deliverances which we have received from him: If, I ſay, the following Diſcourſes do in any meaſure* anſwer *thoſe Deſigns, I need not be at any pains to ſhew, that they are, in every inſtance, extremely* Seaſonable *at this time:*

The

The Second, *concerning the* Author *of them, That what is here publiſh'd, will ſhew it to have been always an avow'd Maxim with him,* 'That, 'amidſt ſo great Diſaffections, *as we* 'have ſeen and do ſtill ſee, *nothing* 'can preſerve *our Succeſſion in the* 'Proteſtant Line, *but* Unanimity a-'mong thoſe, *who have* ever *appeared* 'to be its faſt Friends, *in* Deed, *and* 'not *in* Profeſſion *only* ; *thoſe, who* 'neither *mean the Pretender* them-'ſelves, *nor have ever* liſted *under* 'them that did." *And if he ſhould be miſtaken in this perſwaſion, as he firmly believes he is not, it will however appear from theſe Diſcourſes, that it is a perſwaſion of long ſtanding, and deeply rooted, and that he has always* * Declar'd *and* Enforc'd *it, in the moſt* open *and* publick *manner, whenever* Opportunities *have fal'n in his way.*

* *From p.* 58. *to p.* 61. *From p.* 84. *to p.* 91.

GIVE

GIVE me leave to add, that the Unanimity which is here repreſented as the ſureſt foundation of Safety to the State, *is the ſame that was Enforc'd as the beſt means of enlarging and ſtrengthning the* Church, *by no leſs Authority than that of Archbiſhop* SANCROFT; *and this, not in a haſty, and private manner, but upon the moſt mature deliberation, and among the* Articles of Direction *ſolemnly tranſmitted to the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province, in the Year* 1688. *The* 11th *of thoſe Articles, is as follows:*

Archbiſhop Sancroft's xith Direction. That they alſo walk in *Wiſdom* towards thoſe who are not of our Communion: And, if there be in their Pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently to Confer with them in the Spirit of

of *Meekneſs*, ſeeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our Communion. More eſpecially, that they have a very tender regard to our *Brethren*, the *PROTESTANT DISSENTERS*: That, upon Occaſion offered, they Viſit them at their Houſes, and Receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them; perſwading them, if it may be, to a *full Compliance* with our Church, or at the leaſt, that *whereunto We have already attained, We may all walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the ſame Thing.* And, in order hereunto, That they take all Opportunities of Aſſuring and Convincing them, that the *Biſhops* of this Church are really and ſincerely Irreconcileable

cileable Enemies to the *Errors*, *Superſtitions*, *Idolatries*, and *Tyrannies* of the Church of *Rome*; and that the very unkind Jealouſies which ſome have had of us to the contrary, were altogether Groundleſs. And, in the laſt place, That they warmly and moſt affectionately Exhort them to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the *God of Peace*, for an *Univerſal Bleſſed Union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, againſt our Common Enemies*; and that all they who do Confeſs the Holy Name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his Holy Word, may alſo meet in *one Holy Communion*, and live in *perfect Unity* and *Godly Love*.

THESE

THESE Directions were publiſhed by that Learned Prelate, a few Months before the Revolution happen'd, and were the very laſt that the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province received from him. And yet how unhumanly were his two Great † *Succeſſors treated, or rather perſecuted, as* Enemies *and* Betrayers *of the Church, only for* purſuing *thoſe Directions; having no other Crime, but the endeavouring to cultivate a good underſtanding among Proteſtants at home and abroad, as the only means, under God, to ſupport the Church of* England *and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt, againſt the Deſigns and Attempts of* Popery. *And it is not eaſy to conceive, why a Direction which was eſteem'd*

† *Archbiſhops* Tillotſon, *and* Teniſon.

ſo ſeaſonable and neceſſary juſt before *the Revolution, ſhould immediately* after *it and* ever ſince, *be deem'd not only Uſeleſs, but Deſtructive. In truth, no account can be given of a Prejudice ſo ſtrong and ſudden, and taken up at ſo critical a Time, but, That the purſuing ſuch Directions* after the Revolution, *had too plain a tendency to ſtrengthen a Government, which Men did not like. For, to ſay that a Deſign, in it ſelf ſo Pious and Chriſtian, was not to be attempted without* undermining and endangering the Church of England, *is a Reproach which our Church has not deſerv'd; eſpecially from their hands, who affect to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a* peculiar Zeal *for its honour.*

IT

IT was evidently with an eye to that great Deſign, and to thoſe Reproaches with which it was loaded by Enemies of the Government, that a learned and eminent * *Divine thought himſelf obliged to do juſtice to the Memory of Archbiſhop* TILLOTSON, *immediately after his Death. Speaking of the Zeal of Queen* Mary *for Religion, and the Church of* England, *he adds,* I have reaſon to ſay this, from the frequent Intimations I have had from our late admirable † *Primate*, who had great Deſigns himſelf to ſerve the Chriſtian Religion, and the *Church of England*, in it's *trueſt Intereſts*; and had inſpired their Majeſties, and particularly the Queen, with the ſame great and pious Deſigns. It may be, no Churchman ever

* *Dr.* Sherlock, *in his Sermon on the death of Q.* Mary.

† *Archbiſhop* Tillotſon.

ever had, I am ſure not more deſervedly, a greater Intereſt in his Prince's favour; and the great uſe he made of it, was to do publick Service to Religion, and whatever ſome Men might Suſpect, to the *Church of England*, though it may be not perfectly *in their way.*

THE ſame Reproaches were undergone, in the ſelf ſame Cauſe, by his Wiſe and Great Succeſſor, Archbiſhop TENISON; *of whom I can ſay with the greateſt juſtice, upon the experience and obſervation of almoſt twenty Years, in which I had the happineſs to attend him, That the Church of* England *never had a* better or truer *Friend. And tho' it was his misfortune, as it had been his Predeceſſor's to be cenſur'd and revil'd as an Ene-*

my to the Church, for not ſerving it in the way that ſome Men liked (*that is, by diſſerving the Government, and disjointing the Proteſtant Intereſt,*) *yet, in reality, never was any thing more truly ſaid, than what that pious and good Man* * *deliver'd, as it were with his* dying *breath:* I die in the ſafe Communion of the *Church* of *England*, in which, by God's bleſſing, I have always liv'd; conſtantly endeavouring to *Improve*, but never to *Injure*, it's Conſtitution.

* *In his* Will.

A SER-

23 SE60

A

SERMON

AGAINST

The Aſperſing *of* PRINCES, *and their* Adminiſtration.

ACTS xxiii. 5.

—— *It is written, Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy People.*

THESE Words were ſpoken by St. *Paul*, while he ſtood before the Council of the *Jews*; and they are cited out of that Body of Laws, which God deliver'd to the *Iſraelites* by the hand *Exod.xxii.* 28.

of *Moſes*. The occaſion of St. *Paul*'s uſing them, was this: At his firſt appearance before the Council, he made a ſolemn profeſſion of the Integrity of his Heart and
Acts xxiii. 1. Conſcience, *Men and Brethren* (ſays he) *I have liv'd in all Good Conſcience before God until this day:* And altho' it was very juſt and natural for one ſo maliciouſly accus'd, to make this profeſſion of his Innocence, yet it gave great offence to the High-Prieſt, inſomuch that he *commanded him to be ſmitten on the mouth.* This unjuſt and opprobrious Uſage provok'd St.
Ver. 3. *Paul* to charge him with *Hypocriſie*, for ſitting there to judge him *after the Law*, and yet commanding him to be ſmitten *contrary to the Law.* Which Charge was *in it ſelf* undoubtedly true; and as to the *Freedom* and *Severity* of it, *that* might ſeem in human account to be juſtify'd, or at leaſt excus'd, upon a Provocation thus great and ſurprizing. But ſo far was St. *Paul* from vindicating his Behaviour, that, being put in mind that it was the *Supreme Magiſtrate* of whom he had ſaid this, he preſently revoked it, and condemn'd himſelf
Ver. 5. by the expreſs Words of the Law, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People:* Not only *To* the Ruler, as if the Crime had conſiſted in reviling him *to his Face*;

Face; but *thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil* Of *him*, thou ſhalt not cenſure, expoſe, or vilify him; but thou ſhalt preſerve a juſt Reverence to his Perſon, his Authority, and Adminiſtration.

For it is plain, that the *Evil-ſpeaking* or Cenſuring which God there forbids with regard to the Supreme Magiſtrate, is not meant barely of ſuch Cenſures as are *groundleſs* and *unjuſt*: (theſe were generally forbidden towards *all* Men, of what rank, degree, or quality ſoever; and the Magiſtrate could not be ſuppos'd to have leſs Title to the Benefit of that Prohibition, than the reſt of Mankind:) But the plain meaning and deſign of the Precept, was, to guard the Perſons and Authority of Princes from the Inſults of *Licentious* Tongues; which weaken their Authority, and diſable them from anſwering the Ends of Government; and to which, notwithſtanding, there is ſuch a perverſe Proneneſs in Human Nature. And altho' this reſtleſs and ſeditious Spirit has, no doubt, been working more or leſs in all Ages; yet perhaps there was never any Age, wherein it has reign'd with greater Malignity, or with leſs Reaſon, than in ours.

Which being a Practice no leſs contrary to the Laws of *God*, than Man; it may

be juſtly expected, that the Miniſters of God ſhould do their part towards the Suppreſſing it, by ſhowing how inconſiſtent it is with the Duty of a *Chriſtian Subject*: and the rather, becauſe theſe Cenſures are generally utter'd under ſuch Diſguiſes, and diſperſed with ſo much Cunning and Secrecy, as not to be eaſily brought within the reach of *Human* Laws, and ſo are under no Reſtraints, but thoſe of *Reaſon* and *Conſcience*.

Taking the Words therefore in their moſt obvious and natural Senſe, and by *ſpeaking Evil of the Ruler of the People*, underſtanding the malicious Cenſures and Suggeſtions of Subjects againſt the Perſon and Adminiſtration of their Prince; I will ſhow the great *Evil* of that Practice,

I. In it ſelf; as it is contrary to *Reaſon*, *Religion*, and the avow'd Doctrine of the *Church of England*.

II. In its Cauſes and Conſequences; as it generally ſprings from Envy, Ambition, or Intereſt; and tends to weaken and unhinge the Government of Church and State.

1. This Practice is contrary to *Reaſon*, as it inverts the natural *Courſe* and *Order* of

of things: according to which, the Prince, as the Fountain of Authority, is to derive Juſtice and Judgment to his Subjects by the hands of his Miniſters. But if every private Subject may take upon him at pleaſure to be a Judge of the publick Adminiſtration, and to vent his Cenſures at every turn upon the Conduct and Behaviour of his lawful Superiours; this is to erect a new Court of Judicature, and, inſtead of receiving Juſtice from the hands of the Prince, it is in effect to paſs Sentence upon him. And not only ſo; but it is a Sentence of the unfaireſt and moſt unequitable kind, as it comes from Perſons whoſe Condition ſets them at too great a diſtance from the *Springs* of Government, to be rightly inſtructed in Facts and Circumſtances, and much leſs to enter into the *Reaſon* and *Foundation* of publick Counſels.

Nor is this the worſt, That they take upon them to paſs Judgment under that impoſſibility of knowing the Cauſe, and under a neceſſity thereupon of Judging amiſs if they will Judge at all; but this *Ignorance* of the Truth, makes them liable to be miſled into all the falſe Opinions of Things and Perſons, that are induſtriouſly fram'd and inſinuated by deſigning Men: Who being uneaſy to ſee others in Favour or Authority,

rity, do firſt conſider what kind of Sugge-ſtions may moſt weaken and perplex the preſent Adminiſtration, and then infuſe them into thoſe buſie Heads, as the moſt proper Inſtruments of their Ambition, Avarice, or Revenge.

They therefore whom the Providence of God has plac'd in *private* Stations, if they will act a wiſe and reaſonable part, ought to be very ſparing and tender in their Judgment upon *publick* Affairs; eſpecially, on the Cenſuring and Uncharitable ſide. They ſhould conſider how weak and fooliſh a thing it is, to talk without Knowledge, to judge without Examination, to be very confident upon very ſlight grounds, and to be Slaves to the Intereſt and Ambition of more deſigning Heads. And the natural Reſolution hereupon, is, to leave the Meaſures and Counſels of State to the cognizance of their proper Court; and, inſtead of ſwallowing and ſpreading Reports to the diſadvantage of our Superiours, to be very wary how we believe or divulge them: becauſe on one hand, the Truth of ſuch Matters muſt be to us uncertain; and on the other hand, we know this to be a moſt certain Truth, that the greateſt degrees of Innocence are not ſufficient to protect Perſons

ſons in Favour and Authority, from the Slanders of an envious and malicious World.

As to Others, who are plac'd in *higher* Stations, and have a nearer view of the publick Management; they are indeed better qualify'd to judge, in point of *Knowledge:* but then the ſame Opportunities which make them more *Knowing* in publick Affairs, ſhow them many things which ought to make them more Fair and Candid in their Judgment upon the Adminiſtration. They know, what a large and weighty Task the Concerns of the Publick are; how many Difficulties ariſe, which the wiſeſt Counſels could not foreſee, nor the greateſt Diligence ſurmount; and how even the Cure of ſome Evils on one hand, may be oft-times attended with unavoidable Inconveniences on another. And they who know and ſee theſe things, ſhould be ſo far from being the *firſt* in Cenſuring and Accuſing the publick Conduct, that they ought in Reaſon and Equity to be the Correctors of others, whoſe Ignorance of theſe Matters ſhall at any time betray them into too much Freedom and Severity. Eſpecially, when they know further, how much the Peace and Tranquility of Kingdoms is diſturb'd by ſuch unreaſonable

reaſonable Jealouſies; and yet how uſual it is with Men of corrupt Principles, to ſet them afoot, and Sacrifice the Publick Peace to their own Ambition and Reſentment.

Could ſuch Men, as they are *Subjects*, be perſwaded to judge of their Behaviour towards their Prince, by the Thoughts which they would have of the like Treatment from their own Servants; this Compariſon would let them ſee, how unjuſt and unreaſonable they are. They obſerve, it may be, the Fidelity and Abilities of one particular Servant, and diſtinguiſh him by ſome remarkable Inſtances of their Favour and Countenance, and admit him to a nearer Truſt and Confidence in the management of their Affairs. This is no ſooner done, but the Eyes of the reſt are *evil towards him, becauſe* his Maſter's *is good*; he is cenſur'd and aſpers'd, for no other reaſon but becauſe his Maſter is pleas'd to think kindly and favourably of him; and he is openly declar'd unfit to continue in a Station, for which his Maſter in the choice has pronounc'd him the fitteſt Perſon under his Government. Diſturbances of this kind, I doubt not, do frequently happen in larger Families; but ſurely the Maſter thinks himſelf very undutifully ſerv'd by the Promoters of them, and

and reckons their Behaviour, a Breach of his Authority, and a Reflection upon his Judgment; an unreaſonable Interruption to the Peace of his Family, and an unhappy Acceſſion to his other Cares and Difficulties in the Government of it.

Now, it is the eternal Law of Reaſon and Equity, *That every Man do, as he would be done by*; and if reſtleſs and ambitious Spirits would in their own thoughts transfer this *Domeſtick* Scene to the Civil Government, they would ſee how unworthily they treat their Soveraign in the ſame way; whoſe Authority is ſo much more Sacred, and whoſe neceſſary Cares for the Publick are too great and numerous to need ſuch Additions: Not to obſerve, that the ill influence of ſuch unquiet Practices, is ſo much more fatal and pernicious in the caſe of the Prince, as a Kingdom is more conſiderable in all reſpects than a private Family. *Mat.* vii. 22.

2. This Freedom in Cenſuring of Princes and their Adminiſtration, being ſo much againſt Reaſon and Equity, is alſo againſt the *Chriſtian Religion*; one ſpecial Precept whereof, purſuant to the belief of a Providence, is this, That every Man confine himſelf in a quiet and peaceable way, *1 Cor.* vii. 24. *1 Theſſ.* iv. 11.

2 *Theſſ.* iii. 11, 12. to the proper Buſineſs of that Station wherein the Wiſdom of God hath plac'd him: which is the true Foundation of

1 *Pet.* iv. 3. Happineſs to Publick Societies, and to Private Perſons too, if they would *underſtand* their own Happineſs. They therefore whom Providence hath plac'd in a *Private* condition, muſt remember that God has aſſign'd them Buſineſs of a *Private* nature: and when they make themſelves Judges of the Publick Adminiſtration, and are hot and zealous in Matters of Government, they are in that reſpect *Irreligious*, by aſſuming an Office to which Providence has no way call'd them: Eſpecially, when they become Parties in the work, and the Inſtruments of perplexing and diſquieting their lawful Superiours, in the diſcharge of that high Truſt which the Divine Providence hath committed to them.

Every Chriſtian Subject (whether he be high or low, rich or poor) ought to conſider, before he enters into ſuch Seditious Practices, how expreſly the Scripture has guarded the Perſon, Authority, and Adminiſtration of Princes, from all Invaſions

Rom. xiii. 2. of this kind. They are there declar'd to be *the Ordinance of God*, and conſequently are to be eſteem'd and regarded as his Vicegerents upon earth: A Doctrine, that has but

but little Influence upon thoſe, who are ready to repay every little diſobligation, with unworthy Reflections upon the Perſon and Conduct of their Prince.

Again, The Tribute which the Scripture aſſigns them, is *Honour* and *Reverence* from their Subjects; but it is very ill paid by factious and diſcontented Men, who ſet themſelves to vilify the Wiſdom, Counſels, and Adminiſtration of Princes, on purpoſe to make them mean and contemptible in the Eyes of their People. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

Further, The Laws of God and Man have made the Prince the Fountain of Power and Authority; and in what Chanels it ſhall flow, or by whoſe Counſel and Aſſiſtance it ſhall be adminiſter'd, is left to Royal Wiſdom and Diſcretion, within the compaſs of the Laws. Nor is it only the Duty of every Subject, to be ready with his Advice and Aſſiſtance, when he is *call'd upon* to give it; but it is his Duty alſo, not to murmur, repine, or be uneaſy to Government, if his Advice happen not to be askt, or not to be taken; nay, to rejoyce heartily in the Welfare and Proſperity of the Publick, to what Hands or Heads ſoever it is owing. Which Branch of the Duty of a Chriſtian Subject, ſeems now a-days to be forgotten by too many; who valu-

ing their own Wiſdom above that of their Prince, reckon it a juſt Occaſion of Diſguſt and Reſentment, if he employ not the very Perſons they would name, or think that the Publick can proſper in any other way, than that they would direct; and who extenuate the Succeſs, and rejoyce in the Diſappointment, of publick Counſels and Deſigns, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they are not the Fruits of their own Adminiſtration.

This is that Unchriſtian Spirit, which St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* reprove, when they ſpeak of ſome in their own days, who were *Preſumptuous* and *Self-will'd*, and thereupon *deſpis'd Government*, and were *not afraid to ſpeak Evil of Dignities*. And the Scripture has ſufficiently declar'd the diſpleaſure of God againſt all ſuch Practices, in the terrible end of *Corah* and his Company, who murmur'd againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron* (the Servants and Miniſters of God) as having an exorbitant Authority; and of *Abſalom*, who *ſtole away the Hearts of the People*, by inſinuating the Male-Adminiſtration of his Father's Government, and the great Happineſs they would enjoy, if the publick Management were put into his Hands; and of *Ahitophel*, who had ſuch a high Conceit of his own Wiſdom and

2 *Pet.* ii. 10. *Jude*, viii.

Numb. xvi.

2 *Sam.* xv. 4.

2 *Sam.* xvii. 23.

and Abilities, that he could not bear to ſee any other Counſellour prefer'd before him.

Nor doth the Scripture only warn us, by Precepts and Examples, againſt ſuch undutiful *Practices*, but alſo requires every Chriſtian Subject to abſtain from them *out of Conſcience*. And yet they, who aſperſe and perplex the Adminiſtration of Princes, ſo far as they may with Impunity, give the cleareſt Proof they can, that it is not *Conſcience*, but the *Fear of Puniſhment*, which reſtrains them from higher Provocations and more open Acts of Sedition and Hoſtility. *Rom.* xiii. 5. 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. *Jude* viii.

Purſuant to this Obligation of Conſcience, and with regard to the mighty Difficulties attending the publick Adminiſtration, and the general Influence it has upon Church and State; the Scripture further enjoyns us to *Pray for Kings and all that are in Authority, that*, by the Bleſſing of God upon their Counſels and Undertakings, *we may lead quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*. But it is not likely, that any who have an envious Eye upon the *Counſellours*, as poſſeſs'd of too much Favour and Power already, will pray heartily for the Succeſs of the *Counſels*, to raiſe their Credit and Author- 2 *Tim.* ii. 2.

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rity higher. And yet, as many as *pray* not heartily for the Proſperity of publick Counſels and Deſigns, and much more they who ſet themſelves to perplex and obſtruct them, are (we ſee) in the account of Scripture, Diſobedient to God, and Enemies to the publick Peace and Proſperity of a Nation.

To this Article, of the Oppoſition of ſuch Practices to *Religion*, I will add but one thing more; That whatever Inſtances of Duty are requir'd of Subjects by the Laws of God or Man, are further enſur'd and confirm'd to Princes, by a ſolemn Promiſe and Engagement upon Oath, to be aiding and aſſiſting to them. With what honeſty and integrity this Oath is taken, muſt be left to every Man's Conſcience in the ſight of God; but how little it is regarded by thoſe, who ſtrive to make themſelves conſiderable by Oppoſing and Dividing, and care not what injury they do the Publick, if they can diſable the Perſons in Authority from Adminiſtring with Eaſe and Succeſs; how little, I ſay, ſuch Men regard that ſolemn Oath of Fidelity, may be eaſily ſeen by all, but it muſt be moſt ſenſibly underſtood, on one hand, by the Prince, who feels the daily Difficulties ariſing from ſuch Obſtructions, and on the other

other hand, by the common Enemy, who plentifully reaps the Benefit and Advantage of them.

3. This Freedom in Cenſuring of Princes and their Adminiſtration, which is ſo contrary to Reaſon and Religion, is alſo contrary to the avow'd Doctrine of the *Church of England*; which has not claim'd any one mark of Diſtinction with greater zeal, than that of a Reverent and Religious Regard to Authority. She has always taught her Sons, to conſider Princes as the Ordinance of God, and thereupon to reckon their Perſons *Sacred*, and not only to ſpeak of them with great Reverence, but to propagate a juſt and Honourable Opinion of their Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and other Royal Virtues: And this, in order to gain and preſerve to them the Love and Honour of their People, and by that means to confirm and eſtabliſh their *Authority*, which will always be more or leſs weaken'd by every reflection upon their *Perſons*. And therefore that Seditious Diſtinction between the *Perſon* and *Authority* of the Prince, has been ever condemn'd by the *Church of England*, as an undermining of Government, and the Forerunner of Rebellion.

And

And next to the Honour due to the *Perſons* of Princes; our Church has ever inculcated a ſuitable reſpect to their *Adminiſtration*, or a great confidence in their Wiſdom and Juſtice, for the choice of ſuch meaſures as may moſt effectually promote the general good of their People: Forbidding the raſh Judgments of Private Subjects upon Publick Perſons and Affairs, and warning us to be cautious how we liſten to Suggeſtions againſt thoſe in Authority, and teaching us, in conſideration of the great difficulty of the work, to make juſt allowances for unavoidable ſlips and miſcarriages.

The Laws, it is true, make a great difference between a Prince and his Miniſters, in the *Charge* or *Imputation* of Miſmanagement: But as it is a manifeſt Hardſhip upon the Miniſters of a Prince, when their Proceedings are maliciouſly repreſented to the utmoſt diſadvantage; ſo the Writers of our Church have wiſely obſerv'd, that every ſuch Repreſentation is a real Wound to the Honour of the Prince himſelf; inſinuating, that he is either *Weak* in not ſeeing their Faults, or *Wicked* in permitting them. Thus, all Slanders caſt upon the Miniſtry, do really end in the Diſhonour of the Prince; upon whom therefore they

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are at beſt a very great Hardſhip, and the more dangerous, as being always diſguis'd with large Profeſſions of Duty and Reverence to their *Perſon*. A Practice, which the *Church of England* can never approve, if for no other reaſon, for the ſake of that Pious Prince King *Charles the Firſt*; whoſe Enemies, we have been often told, took all occaſions to expreſs the higheſt regard to his *Perſon*, becauſe they found, that the aſperſing his *Miniſters* would do their work, and make Him and his Government ſufficiently odious among the People.

The Loyalty of the *Church of England*, being grounded upon a conſcientious regard to the Perſon, Authority, and Adminiſtration of the Prince; has another excellent quality reſulting from thence, which is, to be *Fixt* and *Laſting*; not to riſe and fall with the Favour of the Court, with which as it does not begin, ſo neither will it end. And therefore, when we obſerve the ſame Perſon extolling or debaſing his Soveraign, according to the Smiles or Frowns of the Court; one while ſupporting Prerogative, and then again ſinking it; at one time ſtudying to make the Adminiſtration eaſy, at another time obſtructing and perplexing it; we may be ſure, ſuch a Man has not the true Spirit of the

Church of England, which acts upon a higher and more noble Principle than Humour or Intereſt, and needs not to be *bribed* or *courted* into Loyalty.

Our Saviour us'd an Expoſtulation with ſome of the *Jews*, which may be very well apply'd to the Caſe before us: *If ye love them which love you, what Thanks* or Merit *have ye? For Sinners alſo love thoſe that love them.* Men of the moſt *Seditious* Tempers will be very civil and obliging to Government, as long as they are cheriſh'd and encourag'd by it: and therefore they who would be thought Loyal *out of Conſcience*, or, in other words, *according to the Church of England Doctrine*, muſt go a great deal further; that is, in the point of Favour and Advancement, they muſt acquieſce in the Wiſdom of their Sovereign, and, having always their Duty and the Good of the Publick next their Hearts, they muſt continue the ſame Tenderneſs for the Honour, and the ſame Zeal in the Service of their Prince, under all Circumſtances and in all Conditions. And as many as call themſelves Members of the *Church of England*, and yet act contrary to this Principle, do not only ſo far ceaſe to be *true* Members of that Church, but give her Adverſaries an Opportunity of Reproach-

Luke vi. 32.

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ing her, as if *Her* Loyalty and *Theirs* were equally built upon the ſandy Foundations of Intereſt, Humour, and Ambition.

But againſt that Truſt and Confidence in the Wiſdom of the Prince, it has always been objected by the Enemies of Regal Government, that we cannot have too ſtrict an Eye towards the Adminiſtration, upon which the Good of the Community ſo much depends. Nor did *the Church of England* ever plead, that the Relation which Miniſters bear to their Prince, ſets them above the reach of Juſtice: ſhe only deſires, that they may not ſuffer purely for *the ſake of that Relation*, or, if ſuch a Relation muſt be criminal, that at leaſt they may be Try'd and Convicted by Law and not by Clamour; before their proper Judges, and not before the unthinking Multitude; by a plain Accuſation and a fair Hearing, and not by ſecret Slanders and Whiſperings; upon clear and evident Proof, and not upon the Suggeſtions or Inſinuations of deſigning Men. As we find the method of Proceeding directed by *Moſes*, in the caſe of Idolatry: *Thou ſhalt enquire, and make ſearch, and ask diligently; and behold if it be Truth, and the thing certain*, then, and not before, the Sentence of Condemnation was to paſs. *Deut.* xiii. 44.

And the Writers of our Church, in preſcribing the like Caution before we condemn publick Perſons and Actions, conſider wiſely, that Poſts of Honour and Favour are always the Marks of Envy, and that Envy is the Mother of *Slander* and *Calumny*; under which Head therefore, all Inſinuations of that kind ought in Equity to be rank'd, till they appear upon good Authority to be True.

Particularly, when Deſigns are pretended againſt the very *Conſtitution*; it ought to ſeem incredible that ſuch Changes ſhould be meditated by Perſons who were never *ſuſpected* of the leaſt Diſaffection to it, and who have nothing but that Conſtitution, to protect their own Rights, Liberties, and Religion. Men may differ in their Judgments, concerning the *beſt* and *moſt proper Methods* for the preſervation of Church or State in this or that juncture; but when either of theſe is *really* in danger from the Prince and the Adminiſtration, the Alarm will be *general*, becauſe the Concern is ſo too: as we found it in a remarkable manner, upon the * late attempt to introduce Popery. And therefore, when Dangerous Deſigns are charg'd upon the Prince and the Miniſtry by Perſons evidently diſguſted; when ſuch Deſigns are directly

* *King* James II.

directly contrary to the Education and Profeſſion both of Prince and Miniſters; when no Danger is ſuſpected by very great numbers of Men, whoſe Stations enable them to ſee, and whoſe Principle and Intereſt oblige them to prevent it; and, above all, when they who proclaim the Danger, will not allow of any poſſible Remedy, but their own Advancement to Places of Honour and Profit: In this caſe, every Subject who will conſider and judge impartially, muſt ſee the Foundation and Tendency of ſuch Slanders, and wonder how Men can pretend to preſerve the *Church of England*, by Methods ſo directly contrary to the Spirit and Doctrine of it, not to ſay, Methods which are a Scandal and Reproach to it.

Thus far we have ſeen, that this Freedom in Cenſuring Princes and their Adminiſtration, is a very great Evil *In it ſelf*, as it is contrary to *Reaſon*, *Religion*, and the avow'd *Doctrine of the Church of England*.

I will proceed to ſay ſomething very briefly, to the ſecond General I propos'd, *viz.*

II. The further Evil of this Practice, in its *Cauſes*, and *Conſequences*. For by the eſtabliſh'd

eſtabliſh'd Rules of Morality and Religion, every Practice that is *Evil in it ſelf*, becomes much more ſo, by proceeding from unjuſt or unworthy *Motives*, and by being the immediate Cauſe of ſome particular Miſchiefs. And therefore every Man is bound in Conſcience, before he enter upon any Meaſures (even tho' in their Nature ever ſo Innocent) to examine his own Heart, as to the Integrity of his *Intentions* and *Deſigns*; and, weighing well the natural Tendency of ſuch Meaſures, to give himſelf a moral Aſſurance that they ſhall work no Miſchief in the end.

Now, the *pretended* Motives to the Cenſuring of Government, are generally the ſame in all Ages; a mighty Concern for the Publick Good, and an Abhorrence of the Meaſures and Deſigns of the preſent Adminiſtration, with a ſpecious Reſolution to protect the People from ſome terrible danger that is coming upon them. And theſe, without doubt, are excellently calculated for the ends of *Ambition* and *Popularity*; the Multitude being naturally unfavourable to Greatneſs, and very Jealous of their Superiours, and apt to declare Men Patriots from their Zeal and Clamour againſt the Perſons in Authority. But, how-

however ſuch Pretences may impoſe upon *Men*, and bring about the Deſigns of this World, they cannot deceive Almighty God; who, ſeeing the moſt inward Secrets of our Breaſts, requires that in every thing we do, the Heart be upright and ſincere; and that all its Counſels and Contrivances be grounded upon worthy Motives, and directed to juſt and Honourable Ends. And therefore all Perſons who would approve themſelves true Chriſtian Subjects in the Eyes of God, ought to be very ſure, that their Zeal againſt the Adminiſtration proceeds not from certain *Selfiſh* and *Wicked* Motives, which are generally ſuppos'd to have a mighty Influence upon the Minds of ſuch Men. As,

1. Envy: which is a repining at the Succeſs and Proſperity of other Men; eſpecially, when they are rais'd above the common level, and diſtinguiſh'd by ſpecial marks of Favour and Honour from their Prince. This is a fight very offenſive to an envious Mind; which revenges it ſelf upon the Perſon Advanc'd, and the Author of the Advancement, in ſpiteful Reflections upon the Abilities of the firſt, and the Judgment of the ſecond. It is this Spirit, which ſo induſtriouſly aggravates and divulges

vulges Faults where they are, and invents them where they are not; for Envy, we may be ſure, can never reſt, till it has puniſh'd that unpardonable Crime of being favour'd and diſtinguiſh'd by the Prince.

2. Pride and Ambition: the firſt, an immoderate Opinion of Men's own Abilities; the ſecond, as immoderate a deſire to ſee them valu'd and regarded by others: And theſe two, when they are under no reſtraints of Religion, will naturally raiſe a mighty Uneaſineſs and Indignation in the Minds of ſuch Men, to find their own Merits overlook'd, and others whom they had ſet ſo much lower in point of Abilities, eſteem'd and advanc'd above them. And when they cannot be ſo conſiderable as they deſire in the Eſteem of their Prince, they preſently betake themſelves to the People; into whom they inſinuate the miſerable State of things under the preſent Conduct, the neceſſity of putting a ſpeedy ſtop to the Miſchiefs hanging over their Heads, and, as the end of all, how happy it would be for Church and State, if themſelves might be admitted into a ſhare of the publick Counſels.

3. Intereſt: which may not perhaps be ſo much regarded by Perſons of a Higher and

and more Honourable Rank, but works very powerfully upon many of their Dependants; who having built their Hopes upon the Favour of particular Perſons, are extreamly eager to ſee them in Places of Truſt and Authority, and, for that ſingle reaſon, become utter Enemies to all who are in preſent Poſſeſſion. This Diſpoſition never fails to make the publick Miſmanagements great and numerous; nor can Men under ſuch prejudices, ſee any poſſibility but in a change to their own minds, for Church or State to be upon a right Foundation; that is, in truth, a Foundation upon which they may probably raiſe their own Fortunes.

It is to be fear'd, that theſe and the like Motives (*Envy*, *Pride*, *Ambition*, *and Intereſt*) have generally a greater ſhare in all Cenſures upon the Perſons and Adminiſtration of Princes, than either a Concern for the Publick Good, or any real Fears and Apprehenſions of Publick Danger. And ſeeing theſe are Qualities which the Scripture every where Condemns, as utterly deſtructive of the Chriſtian Spirit; whoever deſires to preſerve ſuch a Spirit, ought to Examine his Heart diligently, whether he is not govern'd by them in any action of

his Life, and eſpecially in a Practice ſo unworthy and undutiful, as that of Cenſuring the Conduct and Adminiſtration of his Prince.

And beſides the Cauſes; every Subject who has a juſt concern for the Publick Good, will conſider the plain and immediate *Conſequences* of this Freedom in Cenſuring Authority: I ſay, the *plain* and *immediate* Conſequences, ſuch as it naturally produces, and ſuch as we know by daily Experience to be the ordinary effects of it. Becauſe ſuch Conſequences, being eaſily foreſeen, are juſtly accounted ſo many Aggravations of the Guilt; and, being alſo Miſchiefs of a Publick nature and influence, are a certain Teſtimony, how little the Peace and Proſperity of a Nation are regarded by ſuch Men, in compariſon of their own Intereſts and Reſentments.

Theſe ill Conſequences are very obvious; and therefore I need but juſt name them:

1. The firſt is, the daily Interruption which it gives to Princes, in their Endeavours and Conſultations for the Publick Good. The Security of Church and State againſt

againſt *Foreign* Attempts, is a Care great and weighty enough, and need not be enhanc'd by *Domeſtick* Diſturbances. And yet if Princes have no way to reſtrain Subjects from Oppoſition, but ſpecial marks of Favour, and if a Favour done to one muſt be accounted an injury to many more, and *that* Injury a juſt ground of Cenſure and Reſentment; it is plain, that Princes muſt be at greater pains to Cure the ſecret Diſtempers of their own Subjects, than to defend themſelves againſt their open Enemies; and that they, whoſe unreaſonable Humours do thus divert Princes from the Care of the Publick Safety, can be no true Friends either to Prince or Nation.

2. Another unhappy Conſequence of Cenſuring Princes and their Adminiſtration, is the breeding of Jealouſies and Diviſions among the People. Nothing contributes ſo much to make a Nation eaſy and unanimous in Publick Meaſures, as a general Truſt and Confidence in the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Integrity of the Prince; and that Confidence is not only weaken'd and undermin'd by ſuch undutiful Cenſures, but is corrupted by degrees into *Fears* and *Jealouſies* concerning the Adminiſtration. And when theſe Jealouſies are propagated, and

rooted in the Minds of Men, they ſuggeſt the very worſt Interpretations upon the Deſigns and Actions of Princes; and theſe *ill* Impreſſions make Subjects cold and heartleſs in their Service, and oft-times open Enemies to their Adminiſtration. By which means, the *Promoters* of ſuch Jealouſies do not only become guilty of alienating the Affections of Subjects from their Prince, but, liſting a Party in oppoſition to the Publick Meaſures, they foment a perpetual War in the Bowels of the Kingdom.

3. But, 3*ly*, However *Injurious* ſuch Perſons are to their Prince and Country, without doubt they are great *Benefactors* to the Common Enemy; who knows how faſt our Diviſions prepare the way for his Conqueſts, and feels not a more ſenſible Wound from any quarter, than the unanimity of our Counſels and a thorow underſtanding between Prince and People. Whereas, every *Diminution* of the Prince in the eyes of the People, is a proportionable *Increaſe* of the Greatneſs and Power of our Enemy; both as it ſinks the Dignity and Authority of Government, and as every degree of uneaſineſs and diſſatisfaction under a *preſent* State of Affairs, naturally

rally diſpoſes the Minds of Subjects to think more favourably of a *Change*. And altho' the Promoters of ſuch Jealouſies may poſſibly *mean* no further Change, than their own Advancement; it ought to be remember'd, that it is not in their Power, to what degrees they ſhall work, when once they are infus'd into the Heads of the Multitude.

I have finiſh'd the two Points I propos'd, and have ſhown the great Evil of a Freedom and Licence in Cenſuring the Perſons and Adminiſtration of Princes; Firſt, *In it ſelf*; and Secondly, *In its Cauſes, and Conſequences.*

The Sum and Subſtance of all, in order to our Practice, is this:

As we are *Chriſtian Subjects*, let us pay that dutiful and conſcientious regard which Chriſtianity enjoyns, to the Perſon and Authority of our Prince; and, ſetting aſide Paſſion and Prejudice, let us act *heartily* and *ſincerely* for the Publick good, as we will anſwer it in the preſence of God.

As

As we are *Subjects to the beſt of Queens*, let us reſolve to be the beſt of Subjects, and repoſe that Truſt and Confidence in the Adminiſtration of our Soveraign, which her known Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and exemplary Care of the Conſtitution of Church and State, deſerve and require at our hands.

As we are *Church of England Subjects*, let us be the conſtant Examples of *Duty* and *Decency* towards Authority; and demonſtrate our Loyalty to be the effect of *Principle*, and not of *Humour* or *Intereſt*.

Above all; Let none of us, by aſperſing our Prince and ſowing Jealouſies and Diviſions among the People, behave himſelf as if he were a *Subject of the common Enemy*: But let us joyn heartily in oppoſing all ſuch Unchriſtian Practices, and be zealous and unanimous in ſupporting the Honour, Authority, and Adminiſtration of our Soveraign; as the only Means (under God) to continue *Her* a Glorious Prince, and *our ſelves* a Happy People; and the only Teſtimony, that we Cordially join with

with the Church in that excellent Collect, on the day of Her Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne:

——*Give us Grace to Obey her* Chearfully *and* Willingly *for* Conſcience ſake; *that neither our ſinful* Paſſions *nor our private* Intereſts *may diſappoint Her Cares for the Publick Good. Let Her always poſſeſs the* Hearts *of the People; that they may never be wanting in* Honour *to her* Perſon, *and dutiful Submiſſion to Her Authority,* ——*through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen. *Service for the 8th of* March.

38.SE30

A SERMON OF *The* Danger *and* Miſchiefs *of* POPERY.

HOSEA vii. 9.

Strangers have devour'd his Strength, and he knoweth it not; yea, Gray Hairs are here and there upon him, yet he knoweth not.

IN this and the foregoing Verſes, the Prophet is ſpeaking of the Children of *Ephraim*, and the miſerable Condition to which they had reduc'd themſelves by mixing with the Heathen Nations. He

complains in the Verſe immediately before the Text, that *Ephraim had mix'd himſelf among the People*, that is, among the *Egyptians* and *Aſſyrians* ; and what this mixture was, we learn from ſeveral parts of the Prophecy, where they are charg'd with *making Images and Idols*, with *asking Counſel at their Stocks*, and with *making many Altars to Sin :* The *Egyptians* and *Aſſyrians* had taken the Advantage of that Indulgence and Encouragement which they found among them, and by the benefit of that had entic'd many of the *Iſraelites* to join in their Idolatries. The Miſchiefs whereof are expreſs'd in the Text ; the Firſt, that theſe Strangers had *devour'd* the Strength they had, while they continued unanimous in the Worſhip of the True God ; the Second, that tho' the Decays occaſion'd by theſe Mixtures were plain, and did as evidently forebode their Ruin, as a ſprinkling of Gray-hairs foretels the Approaches of Old Age ; yet, ſuch was their Stupidity, and their Indifference for the True Religion, that they were not at all ſenſible of this growth of Idolatry among them, nor of the heavy Calamities it would bring upon their Nation : *Strangers have devour'd his Strength, and he knoweth*

Hoſ. iv. 12. viii. 11. xiii. 2.

it

it not; yea, Gray Hairs are here and there upon him, yet he knoweth not.

The terrible Effects of this their Indulgence to Idolatry, and Unconcern'dneſs for the Worſhip of God, did not only come to paſs as it had been foretold, but the Prophet himſelf liv'd to ſee it. By encouraging the Idolatrous Nations to the prejudice of the True Religion, they had provok'd God to Anger againſt them, and by ſuffering thoſe Nations to ſeduce ſo many of the *Iſraelites* to Idolatry, they had exceedingly impair'd their own Strength; and ſo, having made themſelves ripe for Deſtruction, the King of *Aſſyria*, the Rod of God's Anger, found them an eaſie Prey, and carrying them into Captivity, plac'd his own People in their ſtead.

I ſhall not draw a Parallel between the Kingdom of *Iſrael* with regard to *Pagan Idolaters*, and the Condition of theſe Kingdoms with regard to *Popiſh Idolaters*. But thus much is certain, That there is a People among us, whom we juſtly charge with *Idolatry*; That the Liberties they have taken for ſome Years paſt, have very much exceeded the Bounds which our Conſtitution has ſet them; That the Exerciſe of their Religion, and their Interpoſition in Publick Affairs, have been manag'd with

much greater Boldneſs and Openneſs than our Laws have thought conſiſtent with the Safety of Church and State; That the Confidence of the Prieſts, in their Attempts to ſeduce the Proteſtant Subjects of the Realm, has been beyond the Example of former Times; That, preſuming upon the Lenity and Tenderneſs of the Government, they have actually perverted many unwary and ignorant People; That altho' theſe things are clear and certain, tho' theſe *Strangers* to our Conſtitution go on to affront our Laws and *devour our Strength*; yet we have thoſe among our ſelves, who, like the *Iſraelites* in the Text, *will not know it*, but on the contrary have taken great pains to *ſuppreſs* the Knowledge of it; nay, have been ſo zealous in that Work, as to improve any Suggeſtion of the leaſt Miſchief from Popery, into a form'd Deſign againſt the Conſtitution of our Church.

Things being thus, it may not be unſeaſonable at this time, if from the Words of the Text we take occaſion to enquire into theſe Three Heads:

Firſt, In what reſpects, the Papiſts may be call'd *Strangers* to us.

Secondly,

Secondly, In what Inſtances, and by what Methods, they ſtrengthen and enlarge themſelves, and in proportion *devour our Strength.*

Thirdly, How it comes to paſs, notwithſtanding all this, that there are too many among us *who will not know it :* Like the *Iſraelites* in the Text, *Altho' Strangers devour our Strength, yet they know it not*; and, *tho' Gray hairs are here and there upon us, yet they know it not.*

I. In what reſpects may the Papiſts be call'd *Strangers* to us? And theſe are, In *Religion*, In *Government*, and (as a conſequence of theſe two) In *Intereſt* and *Deſign.*

They are *Strangers* to us in *Religion.* By their Idolatries and Innovations, by perverting the Holy Scriptures and raiſing their own Traditions to an equal Authority, they have exceedingly corrupted the *Faith* and *Doctrin* of the Goſpel. Their *Worſhip* is over-charg'd with a vaſt variety of ſuperſtitious Rites, in which the true Spirit of Devotion is ſwallow'd up and loſt; they have chang'd the Subſtance for the Shadow, and, contrary to the Apoſtle's Rule, have

have made it a Worſhip in the *Letter*, and not in the *Spirit*. Their *Diſcipline* is wholly exercis'd by Emiſſaries from *Rome*, ſet up in oppoſition to the Spiritual Governours of our Church, and acting under the immediate Direction and Authority of a Foreign Head.

And becauſe the Church of *England* has purg'd her ſelf from theſe Idolatries, Superſtitions and Innovations, and, rejecting their Traditions, has made the Scripture the Rule of her Faith, and has accommodated her Worſhip to the Word of God and the true Ends of Devotion, and delivered her ſelf from the inſupportable Tyranny of the Papal Chair: By this means, we are become *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* in the account of the Church of *Rome*; as ſuch, the Sentence of Excommunication is yearly pronounced againſt us by the Pope, and our deſtruction is declar'd to be a meritorious Work. And that all this is not mere Form and Ceremony, but a Direction zealouſly purſu'd where-ever it is practicable; we ſee, by the bloody Inquiſitions in ſome of the Popiſh Countries, by the terrible Perſecution upon the Proteſtants in a Neighbouring Nation, and by the ſwift approaches to the ſame Cruelties at home, when that Spirit could ſhew it ſelf with

with ſafety, under the influence of a Popiſh Prince.

Far be it from us, to make this mercileſs Treatment of *our* Brethren, a Rule of our Carriage and Behaviour towards *their's*. We have not ſo learn'd Chriſt, as to think Fire and Faggot a fit Application to the *Conſciences* of Chriſtians, or to reckon the Deſtruction of their Bodies, a proper Means for the Salvation of their Souls. But, methinks, theſe Cruelties towards Proteſtants in other Nations, ſhould make the Papiſts in our own, ſomewhat more modeſt and cautious; at leaſt, they ought not to think themſelves entitl'd by them to *new* and *unuſual* Liberties. And tho' the Good Nature and Religion of *Engliſh-men* forbid them to *copy* thoſe Examples of Cruelty; we may well be allow'd, ſo far to *obſerve* and *remember* them, as to be jealous of the Growth of that Religion among our ſelves, which, in other Countries, could animate the Profeſſors of it to ſuch inhuman Barbarities towards our Proteſtant Brethren.

They are alſo *Strangers* to us in *Government*: Princes can have no hold of the Members of the Church of *Rome*, while they own a ſuperior Head, who claims a Power of Abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, and even Degrading and Excommuni-

communicating the Sovereign. And as this pretended Authority is chiefly exerted by the Pope againſt *Proteſtant* Princes, ſo are the People prepar'd to receive, approve, and execute his Sentences, by another ungodly Doctrine, That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks. And to what ſeditious and cruel Attempts, theſe Principles have blown up ſome of the Members of that Church, can be unknown to none, who have look'd into the Hiſtory of theſe Kingdoms, ſince the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. †

† *Afterwards, under the 2d General Head.*

It is to be hop'd, that the greateſt part of our *Engliſh* Papiſts, being born and bred in the ſame Air with our ſelves, and receiving their Protection from the eſtabliſh'd Laws, have ſo good a ſhare of Tenderneſs and Gratitude, as to be proof againſt thoſe cruel Suggeſtions of the Emiſſaries from *Rome*. But it is alſo to be fear'd, that there will be a number at all times, of Condition and Inclination deſperate enough, to undertake ſuch Enterprizes as are agreeable to the Principles of that Church, and ſhall be judg'd by their Infallible Guide to be a ſeaſonable Service to the common Cauſe. And we may well ſuppoſe, that ſuch Diſpoſitions are the more ſtrong and numerous, at a time when the whole

whole Body of the Papiſts diſown the Title of our Prince, in favour of a Pretender of their own Religion; and that they are ſtill more ready and zealous, ſince the Nation, ſufficiently ſenſible that the *Engliſh* Conſtitution will not thrive under a Popiſh Prince, have cut off their hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor for ever, except ſome bold and deſperate Undertaking ſhall make his way to the Throne.

It is far from the Temper of the *Engliſh*, and the Nature of our Conſtitution, to make Men *ſuffer* upon bare Preſumptions: But at the ſame time, the regard we owe to our ſelves and our Conſtitution, calls upon us to be very *Watchful*, when we are ſure there is an Enemy in our own Bowels. When we find ſuch a Spirit moving among us, it behoves us to obſerve narrowly *which way* it moves, and *to what degrees*; that it may be kept under ſuch Reſtraints, as the Safety of Church and State ſhall require. Their Principles in effect declare, and we are all abundantly convinc'd, that whatever Strength or Intereſt they have, will upon a fair opportunity be employ'd againſt us; and therefore it nearly concerns us, to know the Extent of that Strength, and to be jealous of the Increaſe of it. It is the Voice of the Nation, that we have no *preſent* or *future* Se-

curity, under God, but in the Proſperity of Her Majeſty's Arms, and the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line; and how then can we anſwer it to our Selves, our Poſterity, or our Religion, if we make it not our utmoſt Care, that they who we are ſure have it in their *Will*, have it not alſo in their *Power*, to ſhake or undermine theſe Foundations of our Safety?

Theſe Two Oppoſitions, In Religion, and Government, ſuppoſe a Third Sort, namely, In *Intereſt* and *Deſign*: For the Spirit of that Religion is not wont to lie ſtill, without Deſigns, much leſs to overlook any fair Opportunity of ſerving them. If ever there was a juncture that oblig'd the Papiſts, in Prudence and Decency, to more than ordinary *Tenderneſs in giving Offence*, it is now; when their declar'd Diſaffection to the Government, makes them ſo *liable* to be ſuſpected; and when the Succeſs of *their* Aims and Wiſhes, would evidently be the ruin of *our* Laws and Religion. And it were happy for the Nation, and perhaps for themſelves too, if their known *Principles* in Government and Religion, were the *only* Teſtimony of their Deſigns. But this is a Happineſs not to be hop'd for, while their Prieſts are ſo open and bare-fac'd in making Proſelytes of the weaker

weaker ſort, and, forgetting how ſhamefully they were baffl'd in a former Reign, and how obnoxious they are to the Laws at this day, are not afraid to ſend Challenges to the Miniſters of our Church, on purpoſe to carry off their Proſelyte in publick Triumph, after they have made ſure of him by private Arts: While ſo many of their People buſie themſelves openly in the National Elections, for thoſe whom they conceive to be moſt favourable, or leaſt oppoſite, to their main Deſign, and are very free in cenſuring of others, who have no Crime but their Zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, the great Barrier againſt that Deſign: While they triumph in the Misfortunes of the Kingdom, and repine at the publick Proſperity and Succeſs, with ſuch freedom and openneſs as few other Nations would bear: In a word, inſtead of guarding againſt Suſpicions, and a prudent Care not to give any Offence or Jealouſie (a Behaviour, that might well be expected in their preſent Circumſtances) too many among them ſeem to be trying what Degrees of Provocation the Government will bear.

Theſe Practices, we may hope, are heartily condemn'd by the more *prudent* and *modeſt* part of that Perſuaſion: who will

therefore think it reaſonable, that the eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution ſhould provide for its own Safety; and if that Proviſion ſhould happen to bring Inconveniences upon them, will lay the Blame where it ought to reſt, that is, upon the intemperate Zeal of the Emiſſaries from *Rome*, and of others whom they have been able to work into theſe provoking Meaſures.

I paſs on to the Second General,

II. In what Inſtances, and by what Methods, they ſtrengthen and enlarge themſelves, and do in proportion *devour our Strength*.

We have already ſeen, how oppoſite they are to the eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution of Church and State, in Religion and Government, and in all their Meaſures and Deſigns. And the conſequence of this Oppoſition is, that what they gain, we loſe; whatever new Strength or Spirits we ſuffer them to get, are all drain'd out of our own Body. Every Proſelyte they make, immediately becomes our profeſs'd Enemy, not only in Religion, but in Policy too; liſting himſelf at the ſame time under Two foreign Heads, one in the Church, the other

other in the State. And it is generally obſerv'd, that ſuch Converts are more *remarkably active* and *furious* in the Cauſe they have eſpous'd; whether it is, that Fickle Heads are naturally fond of new things, or that they think it for their Honour to make a ſhow of a thorow Conviction.

And as every Convert to the Popiſh Religion, becomes immediately a Zealot for a Popiſh Prince; ſo it happens, at this juncture, that the Zeal of ſome of our own Church for the Pretended Prince of that Religion, proves the occaſion of making them Proſelytes to the Religion it ſelf. A Community of Meaſures and Wiſhes in the Affairs of State, draws on a Correſpondence and Good-liking between *them* and the Members of the Church of *Rome*; and the Courteſie which they find upon that account from Papiſts, by degrees wears off the Abhorrence of Popery. by which means, the Miſſionaries of that Church, who are not wont to neglect Opportunities, find their Acceſs eaſie, and the Work half-done to their Hands.

God be thank'd, it is only upon the Weak and Ignorant, that this Poiſon works; The more diſcerning among them, retain the ſame Deteſtation that they ever had, of the manifold Corruptions of the Church

of

Dr. Hicks *his Conference with a Popiſh-Prieſt; in the Preface.*

of *Rome*; and a very Learned Perſon of that number has publickly warn'd the Nation of the Boldneſs and Succeſs of the Prieſts in making Converts, and, from his own Obſervation, tells us the Arts and Methods by which they carry on their Work, and laments, that *the Growth of Popery among us ſhould be greater than formerly, notwithſtanding the Increaſe of* Penal *Laws.*

The truth is, thoſe Penal Laws are ſo much ſoften'd, or rather laid aſide, by the *Engliſh* Clemency and Good-nature, that it has long been the Wiſh of wiſe and conſidering Men, to ſee fewer Laws and more effectual Execution: they have liv'd ſo long under the Terror of Penal Laws, and found ſo little Inconvenience from them, that it will be hard to convince them that the Legiſlature is ever in earneſt. And yet theſe very Laws, being part of our *Engliſh* Conſtitution, are appeal'd to in the Popiſh Countries, as undeniable Teſtimonies of the Sufferings of their *Engliſh* Brethren; and while, in great Tenderneſs, we are ſuſpending our Laws at home, we are reproach'd abroad as the moſt cruel Perſecutors. This is but an ill Return from the Miſſionaries of the Church of *Rome*, for the great Indulgence they have found

found among us; which ſhould oblige them at leaſt to do *Juſtice* to the Church of *England*, and to confeſs, that as the ſeveral Laws they complain of, were firſt made upon ſome remarkable Attempts of the Papiſts, againſt the eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution; ſo nothing but freſh Provocations of the ſame kind has been able to drive the *Engliſh* to the Execution of them. They know, that by the Laws of ſome other Countries it is Criminal to be a Proteſtant, and the moſt peaceable Behaviour is no Protection; and they know as well, that it has not been the Papiſt as ſuch, but only the *provoking*, *ſeditious*, and *turbulent* Papiſt, who has found any diſturbance from the *Engliſh* Government.

In the Infancy of the Reformation under *Henry* the Eighth, the great Work was, to extirpate the Authority of the Pope, and eſtabliſh the Supremacy of the Prince. Now, both theſe the Point under our preſent Conſideration *ſuppoſes* to be ſettled; which is not, by what methods the Papal Authority was excluded, but in what way thoſe who adhere to the Religion of the Pope, have been treated in a Country where his Authority was aboliſh'd. And it is well known, that the diſaffection of that Prince to the main *Doctrines* of Popery, *Hen.* VIII.

was

was not ſo great, as to induce him to any remarkable Hardſhips towards thoſe, who would at leaſt be *ſilent* under his own Supremacy.

His Son King *Edward* the Sixth went further, and eſtabliſh'd *an Uniformity of Service and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, throughout the Realm*; but that Law only enjoin'd the Miniſter to uſe this and not the Maſs-Book; and the People, not to interrupt the Miniſter, or ſpeak againſt the Service. And when it appear'd by experience, that the Miſſals which had been formerly us'd, were a great obſtruction to the Uniformity intended, they were only call'd in, to give a more free and eaſie paſſage to the *publick* Service; without diſturbing either Prieſts or People in the private exerciſe of their Religion.

2 & 3 Edw. VI.

3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.

Notwithſtanding the bloody Reign of Queen *Mary*, ſo far was her Succeſſor the glorious Queen *Elizabeth* from the leaſt diſpoſition to Cruelty, that ſhe contented her ſelf to reſtore the Supremacy and the Publick Service to their former ſtate; allowing the Papiſts a ſhare in her Counſels; and, in a ſubſequent Law againſt the Pope's Authority, exempting Peers of the Realm from the diſabling Oath, and frequently declaring, that no Subject who would

Camd. An. 1558. 5 *Eliz.* c. 1.

would live quietly and peaceably, ſhould be diſturb'd on the account of Religion.

'Tis true, the Laws afterwards grew more ſevere, but it was becauſe the Papiſts grew more ſeditious. To execute *Bulls of Abſolution* and *Reconciliation* from *Rome*, or to *Receive* Abſolution and Reconciliation in virtue of ſuch Bulls, was made High Treaſon. But let the Hiſtory of the three preceding Years explain that Law, and determin whether it was owing to the Severity of Proteſtants or the Sedition of Papiſts. There we find, that the Pope had granted Authority to *Saunders* and others, to Abſolve all the *Engliſh* who would return to the Church of *Rome*, and that they were very zealous in the Work; That the ſame Pope had ſent his Bull into *England* by *Morton* the Prieſt, to Anathematize the Queen, and deprive her of the Throne, and to abſolve her Subjects their Oaths of Obedience; That, in virtue thereof, many of the People were withdrawn from their Allegiance, a dangerous Rebellion rais'd, circular Letters ſent to the Papiſts to riſe and aſſiſt in the Cauſe, and the Bull it ſelf publiſhed in the City, in a very open and inſolent manner.

18 *Eliz.* c. 1.

Camd. An. 1568.

—1569.

—1570.

Ten Years after, we find a new Enforcement of the Law againſt Bulls; but it was becauſe the Prieſts had found new Devices to evade the former, and to carry on the work of *abſolving* and *reconciling* by other ways. We find Penalties for ſaying and hearing of Maſs; but we find in the Hiſtory of the ſame time, that great numbers of Prieſts were ſent into *England* and *Ireland* from the Seminaries abroad, under pretence of preaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments, but really to withdraw the Subjects from their Obedience to the Queen. The ſame Law lays a Penalty upon abſenting from Church, and after a Year's abſence, enjoins the finding of Sureties; which is not to be thought ſtrange or cruel, when the Emiſſaries of the Church of *Rome*, under whoſe diſcipline the Abſenters liv'd, were the profeſs'd Teachers of Rebellion, and when a Deſign had been detected between the *Spaniſh* King and the Pope, to dethrone the Queen, and reſtore Popery in the Kingdom.

23 *Eliz.* *c.* 1.

Camd. An. 1580.

Camd. An. 1578.

The next Law againſt Papiſts, commands all *Jeſuits*, *Seminary* Prieſts, and others, to depart the Realm. But turn to the Hiſtory of that time, and there you find great numbers of Prieſts coming daily into

27 *Eliz.* *c.* 2.

into *England*, who taught that the Queen was no Queen, and that whatever had been done by her Authority ſince the Bull of Pope *Pius*, was null and void. The ſame Law forbids the ſending of Children or Contributions to the Seminaries abroad; and ſo the ſame Hiſtorian tells us, of great numbers of Children ſent over to thoſe Seminaries, and receiv'd there, on condition that they firſt made a Vow to return, when they were inſtructed in their Learning and Diſcipline; that is, in the rankeſt Principles of Sedition and Rebellion. *Camd. An.* 1581. —1580.

While they were thus diligent in ſending their Emiſſaries to *Corrupt* the People, it is not to be wonder'd, that the great Council of the Land ſhould countermine their Endeavours, by obliging all who were found guilty of *Corrupting*, to *Abjure* the Realm. And if, in the ſame Year, another Law was made to baniſh Papiſts from Court, and confine them to the Neighbourhood of their own Dwellings; our Hiſtories will explain it, by ſhewing that in the compaſs of a very few Years, ſeveral Deſigns had been form'd and carry'd on, to *Aſſaſſinate* the Queen. 35 *Eliz.* c. 1. 35 *Eliz.* c. 2. *Camd. An.* 1584. 1585. 1586. 1587.

King *James* I. began his Reign with a Revival of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Laws againſt 1 *Jac.* c. 4.

Popery: and well he might, when he reflected upon the many wicked Deſigns againſt the Perſon and Government of his Predeceſſor, and that, upon a proſpect of her Death, they had in the moſt publick manner diſputed his Title to Succeed.

3 *Jac.* *c.* 4, 5. Three Years after, we find Papiſts confin'd, under higher Penalties, to their Places of Abode, and greater Rewards propos'd for the diſcovering of Prieſts, and expreſs Declarations requir'd, as well againſt the Pope's Authority to depoſe Princes and abſolve Subjects from their Obedience, as againſt his diſpenſing with Oaths, and the taking them with Equivocations and mental Reſervations. But it is to be remember'd, that all this was done upon the diſcovery of the moſt helliſh and execrable Plot that we read of in any Age or Nation, the Gunpowder-Treaſon; which, we all know, had been carry'd by the Prieſts, upon thoſe very *Principles*, to the point of Execution.

25 *Car.* 2. *c.* 2. 30 *Car.* 2. *c.* 1. To theſe Reſtraints, there were added in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, the *Sacramental Teſt*, and the Excluſion of *Popiſh Peers* out of the great Council of the Land. For the occaſion of which, I need not appeal to Hiſtory: I appeal to the Memory of many here preſent, for the Countenance

tenance given at that time to Popiſh Meaſures, and the impatience of the Papiſts to put them in Execution, and their Attempts to ſhorten the Way for a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Throne; who, when he came to the Throne, did abundantly juſtifie the *Wiſdom* of our Legiſlators, by making the removal of that *Teſt*, one of his firſt Endeavours for the Eſtabliſhment of Popery.

It may be thought Preſumption in one of our Order, and eſpecially before this † Learned Audience, to intermeddle in the Laws and Statutes of the Realm: but it will be favourably conſider'd, that they are Laws which concern *Religion*, and are cited here only in an *Hiſtorical* Way; that, by comparing the Seditious Practices of the Papiſts as recorded in our Hiſtories, with the ſeveral Laws which thoſe Practices have occaſion'd, it may appear at one view, That the Papiſts have been the ſole Authors of their own Misfortunes; That theſe reſtraints from time to time, were brought upon them by Rebellion, and not, as they pretend, by Religion; That the *Engliſh* Legiſlature have proceeded in their Reſtraints *Gradually*, as the repeated Attempts of the Papiſts upon the Perſons and Government of our Princes, have render'd them neceſſary, and, That nothing can extort

† *The Judges, &c.*

extort a ſanguinary Law from the *Engliſh* Temper, but an indiſpenſable regard to their own Religion and Government.

But what Severity ſoever may be pretended in the *Laws*, it is very certain there is none in the *Execution*. And whoever conſiders, how ſtrict the Laws, and how high the Penalties are, againſt any Prieſt who ſhall attempt to pervert a Subject to Popery, or ſhall ſay Maſs, or even be found in the Realm; and againſt all others who ſhall harbour a Prieſt in their Houſes, or ſend Children or Money to a Seminary abroad; Whoever, I ſay, knows the high Penalties upon theſe and the like Practices, and then conſiders how common and familiar they are generally believ'd to be among us, will ſee how little miſchief the Papiſts fear from theſe terrible Laws they ſo much complain of, and how greatly they are indebted to the Goodneſs and Tenderneſs of the *Engliſh* Government.

But they muſt not hope, that the *Engliſh* Good-nature will hold out againſt all Provocations: The Laws will rouſe themſelves and break looſe, at the ſight of ſuch unprecedented Freedom and Boldneſs as we have beheld of late days. It is a known Crime in the Eye of the Law, to import Popiſh Books from abroad; but we

we have ſeen them printed and publiſh'd at home, and diſpers'd over the Nation with the greateſt Induſtry; and not only ſo, but with formal Advertiſements of the Place, where a variety of Popiſh Books were to be publickly ſold. They know it is Capital, to attempt the perverting of a Proteſtant Subject; and yet they are not content to carry on this Work with caution and ſecrecy, nay, unleſs they do it with a kind of Triumph, in defiance of Parents, Husbands, and all other Superiours and Relations. They are ſtrictly forbidden to ſend Children to the Seminaries abroad; but if a late † Complaint was well-grounded, as I doubt not but it was, they are now beginning to bring the Seminaries home. They know, there is nothing againſt which our Conſtitution has more carefully guarded, than their intermedling in the Affairs of Church and State; and this, one would hope, ſhould be a Warning to them, to mix in the Intereſt which they favour, with greater *Guard* and *Caution*; and, if they muſt rejoyce in our Misfortunes and repine at our Succeſſes, to do it at leaſt in a more private and modeſt Way.

† *In Convocation; of a Seminary in* Hamſhire.

Theſe and the like Provocations, have moved the great Council of the Land to take

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a ſtrict Survey of the preſent State of Popery in the Kingdom; in order, as it is hop'd, to apply an effectual Remedy to this growing Evil. And, in the mean time, while the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome* are ſo very buſie, it cannot be an unbecoming part in the Miniſters of the Church of *England*, to lay to heart the viſible Increaſe of Popery, and to warn the People how zealous they are in promoting it; that we may endeavour at leaſt to raiſe an equal Zeal and Concern for the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd among us.

I proceed to the Third and Laſt General,

III. How it comes to paſs, notwithſtanding the Papiſts are ſo much *Strangers* and Enemies to our Conſtitution, and ſo open and zealous in promoting their own Intereſt, and by conſequence in *devouring our Strength*; that there are ſo many among us, *who will not know it:* Like the *Iſraelites* in the Text, Altho' *Strangers devour our Strength, yet they know it not*; and tho' *Gray Hairs are here and there upon us, yet they know it not.* Was it through Supineneſs or Inadvertency, and that they did not obſerve or regard it, the thing

were

were leſs to be wonder'd at : But it has been eſpous'd and labour'd as a *Cauſe*, and the People have been told in the moſt publick manner, that Popery is only a Bugbear to ſcare and terrifie them ; nay, they have been taught to believe, that the Complaints of Danger from that quarter, are a certain Mark of Diſaffection to the Church of *England*.

What we are to expect, if Popery ſhould prevail, can be a Doubt with none who know the Spirit and Principles of that Religion, and reflect upon the *Terrors* of a late Reign ; the remembrance whereof, one would hope, ſhould make it an eſtabliſh'd Principle in the Hearts of all true *Engliſh-men*, That we can never be too watchful againſt the Deſigns and Approaches of Popery. But, I know not how ; thoſe Days of Danger and Terror are clean forgotten by many amongſt us ; who, while they treat the Memory of our Glorious Deliverer, and thoſe Worthy and Learned Prelates who ſtood in the Gap, with the utmoſt Contempt and Indignity ; can make themſelves a kind of Advocates for the Papiſts, and perſuade the Nation, in effect, that neither the Increaſe of Popery at home, nor the open Attempts of a Popiſh Pretender abroad, deſerve our Fear or

Regard. And it is very evident, that their Diligence to remove the Fears of Popery and divert the Nation from all Suſpicions of that kind, has for ſome Years been a great Encouragement to this provoking Behaviour of the Papiſts.

'Tis true, the Papiſts are not the *only* Enemies to our Conſtitution: There is another ſort, who Diſſent from us in Worſhip and Diſcipline; but being reſtrain'd by Penalties and Incapacities ſo much *lower* than the Papiſts, are evidently judg'd by our Conſtitution to be Enemies of a *leſs-dangerous* Nature. The Legiſlature conſiders, That they own no Foreign Head in Church or State; that in the Doctrinal Parts of Religion they are at no great diſtance from us, and ſo are brought over with greater Eaſe to the eſtabliſh'd Church; that, in fact, abundance have been brought over by gentle and courteous Uſage, and their Numbers undoubtedly decreaſe by the Toleration; which appears, among other Teſtimonies, by a † Letter of Complaint to that purpoſe, from ſeveral Diſſenting Miniſters in the Country, to their Brethren in the City: That, as to the National Intereſt at this juncture, they are, for ought appears, very cordially in it; true to the Queen, utter Ene-

† *Dated* March 4. 170½. *p.* 4.

Enemies to *France*, and hearty Friends to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. Upon this Account, the Wiſdom of the Nation has thought fit to grant them an *Indulgence* in Religion; and I think it is now agreed on all hands, that by the terms of Chriſtianity there ought to be no Perſecution *purely for the ſake of Religion*, and that in Experience, gentle Methods appear much more effectual than ſevere ones, to bring them to a favourable Opinion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and by degrees to Conformity with Her.

Far be it from us, to preach *Security* to the Members of our Church, with regard to theſe Men. On the contrary, Let us take it for granted that they would be very *well pleas'd* with a greater ſhare of Liberty and Power; and let them be made ſenſible, that it is in vain to hope for more, nay, that the modeſt and inoffenſive uſe of what they have, is their beſt Security for the continuance of it. But, on the other hand, while they keep within the Bounds which the Laws preſcribe, let us not make them Enemies of a larger Size than the Conſtitution has drawn them, much leſs equal them, in point of Danger, to the Papiſts, thoſe irreconcilable Enemies of our Religion and Government. And it

ought certainly to make ſome difference in our Regard, that in this critical juncture they ſo freely contribute their Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy of *Europe*, while the great Hopes of the Papiſts are evidently plac'd in his Succeſs.

And yet, notwithſtanding the manifeſt *Inequality* of Danger from theſe Two; if we enquire into the true Cauſe, why ſo many among us are thus induſtrious to remove the Eyes of the Nation from Papiſts, it will appear to be, that they may fix them more *keenly* upon Proteſtants; that is, in plain terms, that they may leave that Quarter naked, where our greateſt Danger lies. Paſſion, Prejudice, and Intereſt, get poſſeſſion of the Minds of Men, and being rooted there, will not ſuffer them to ſee the true Intereſt of their native Country; which at this time, if ever, requires us to keep the ſtricteſt Eye upon *them* whoſe Principles and Practices declare their Partiality to our Enemies, and to prevent all Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings with *thoſe* who aſſiſt us heartily in the common Cauſe; ſo far as they may be prevented with *Safety to our Conſtitution*, which all Parties muſt allow us to make the Rule and Meaſure of our Dealings with them.

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Within the Memory of the preſent Age, it was the pleaſure of the Court, that the Penal Laws ſhould be vigorouſly executed upon the Diſſenters; which has ſince ſufficiently appear'd to be a Popiſh Stratagem, to divide the Proteſtant Intereſt, and thereby to ſtrengthen and enlarge their own. By theſe Arts were the Papiſts preparing the Way, when a Prince of that Religion came to the Crown; under whoſe Influence the Intereſt of Popery advanced and grew apace, till it was ready to ſwallow us up. It pleas'd God to look upon us in our Extremity, and to ſend us a Glorious Deliverer; but let us remember, that he has no where promis'd to ſend new Deliverances, as oft as a People ſhall think fit, by their own Folly and Perverſeneſs, to plunge themſelves into new Dangers.

To prevent this, and that every one of us may do his part to perpetuate our Laws, Liberties, and Religion; Let us ſacrifice our private Paſſions and Animoſities to the Publick Good; or, if theſe muſt be indulg'd, let them at leaſt be laid aſide, in a caſe where our Religion is ſo nearly concern'd. Let us liſten honeſtly and impartially to the eſtabliſh'd *Laws* and our own *Reaſon*; which will firſt tell us, who are the greateſt *Strangers* and Enemies to our Conſti-

Conſtitution, and then teach us to keep the ſtricteſt Watch where we find the greateſt Danger. In a full aſſurance of the Safety of the Church of *England* under Her Majeſty's happy and glorious Adminiſtration, and in purſuance of Her own Royal Commands, let us be the conſtant Promoters of Peace and Unity in our ſeveral Stations; that we may procure the Favour of Heaven, and that our joint Endeavours for the publick Good may be Crown'd with Succeſs.

Above all, let us be more juſt to Her Majeſty, our Selves, and the whole Nation, than to turn Advocates for thoſe, who in contempt of all Laws are *open* Advocates for a Foreign Power, in order to bring in a Foreign Religion.

From which terrible Judgments may God of his infinite Mercy evermore deliver this Church and Nation, for the ſake of his Son Jeſus Chriſt; to whom, &c.

A

A SERMON OF *The Iniquity of Proſtituting the* Name *of the* CHURCH.

JEREMIAH vii. 3, 4.

3. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Iſrael, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cauſe you to dwell in this Place.*

4. *Truſt ye not in lying words, ſaying,* The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, *are theſe.*

IT appears by the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and particularly by the Language of their Prophets and the Tenor of their ſeveral Meſſages from God, that they had fal'n by Degrees into

into a ſhameful Neglect of the Moral Law; which God had deliver'd to their Fathers by the Hand of *Moſes*, for a Rule of Life to them and their Poſterity. And becauſe they were the peculiar People of God, and in Covenant with him, and knew that Obedience on their part was a Condition abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure his Favour and Protection; therefore, the more they fail'd in the inward Obedience of the Heart, and in the Duties of Moral Goodneſs and Righteouſneſs, the greater Zeal they ſhow'd for the outward and Ritual Parts of the Law. Particularly, they reſted much in their Zeal for the *Temple*; and it ſhould ſeem by the Text, which forbids them to truſt in *lying Words*, that there wanted not falſe Prophets, who had aſſur'd them that their Zeal for the Temple would go a great way to atone with God for all Failings in other Parts of their Duty. A Leſſon, that is readily learn'd and embrac'd by corrupt Nature; which deſires nothing more, than to compound with God for Defects in inward Goodneſs, by an Exceſs of Zeal for external Performances of any kind. But the Prophet in the Text deals clearly with them; and, without *blaming* their Zeal for the Honour of the Temple, tells them in plain terms, that

that they who had poſſeſs'd them with a Belief, that that alone would recommend them to the Favour of God, were lying Prophets; and aſſures them from the mouth of God himſelf, That nothing but the Amendment of their Ways, and the Practice of the Subſtantial Duties of Religion, could procure to them and their Poſterity, a laſting Eſtabliſhment in the Land wherein they dwelt. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts*, &c.

From the Words, I will take Occaſion to diſcourſe of theſe Three Heads;

I. *Firſt*, That Religion, and the general Practice of it in a Nation, is the ſureſt Eſtabliſhment of States and Kingdoms.

II. *Secondly*, That therefore, in every Nation, it is the proper Buſineſs of the Civil Magiſtrate, as ſuch, to vindicate and maintain the Honour of Religion.

III. *Thirdly*, That without a ſerious Regard to the Moral and Spiritual Duties of Religion, the greateſt Zeal in other Matters, even tho' it be for the eſtabliſhed Worſhip of God, will not ſecure the Divine Favour and Protection, either to Perſons or Nations.

Firſt then, I am to ſhow, That Religion, and the general Practice of it in a Nation, is the ſureſt Eſtabliſhment of States and Kingdoms.

And this is a certain Truth, whether we conſider it in a Natural or a Supernatural Way.

That Religion is the ſureſt Eſtabliſhment of States and Kingdoms, is true in a Natural Way; becauſe the Duties of Religion have a natural tendency to thoſe Things, which are the chief Means and Foundations of that Eſtabliſhment, *viz.* Peace, and Unity, and Order. Theſe are the certain Effects of Religious Duties: Of Meekneſs and Gentleneſs, of Patience and Charity, and Forbearance; as theſe prevent Quarrels and Contentions, and unite the Hearts and Affections of Men, and engage them in the purſuit of the ſame Intereſt, and in the Defence of the ſame common Cauſe: Of the ſtrict Adminiſtration of Juſtice, which makes Men ſecure in the Enjoyment of their Legal Rights; and the finding themſelves eaſy in their preſent Condition, determines them to be reſolute in the Maintenance of that Eſtabliſhment, to which they owe their Eaſe and Security: Of Diligence in the ſeveral Callings and Profeſſions where-

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in the Divine Providence hath placed Mankind; by which every Hand is perpetually contributing to the National Strength: And laſtly, they are the Effects of Sobriety, Temperance, and Contentment; which bring the Neceſſities of Nature into a narrow Compaſs, and diſpoſe Men to a quiet and comfortable Enjoyment of what God ſends, without moleſting or envying their Neighbours.

Theſe and the like Advantages to Society, are the natural Effects of Religious Duties. Nor does Religion only preſcribe the Duties, but it enforces the Practice of them, far beyond what any human Power can do. It ties them faſt upon the Minds and Conſciences of Men, by a Reverence to the all-ſeeing Eye of God, and a Belief of Rewards and Puniſhments in the next World; and theſe are effectual Obligations to Duty, in innumerable Caſes which human Eyes cannot reach, and being ſo, give Mankind a mutual Security and a full Confidence in one another; which is the ſtrongeſt Bond of Human Society.

For the further illuſtration of this Truth, 'That Religion, and the general Practice of 'it in a Nation, is the ſureſt Eſtabliſhment 'of States and Kingdoms', let us ſuppoſe the quite contrary; that Vice and Wicked-

neſs were the general Practice; that a Nation lived in a State of Anger and Malice and Revenge, in Injuſtice and Rapine, in Sloth and Luxury, in Envy, Murmuring, and Diſcontent: What Confuſions and Diſtractions would theſe breed! How eaſie a Prey would ſuch a People become to their Enemies, or rather how quickly would they devour and deſtroy themſelves! And, conſidering the great Corruption of human Nature, and to what Degrees that Corruption works and oft-times breaks out in Acts of Injuſtice and Violence and Revenge, notwithſtanding all that human Power can do to prevent them; the only ſure Foundation of Order and Government, is Religion, which moulds the Minds of Men into a quiet and peaceable Frame, and by perpetually preſenting to their View an all-ſeeing Providence and a future Judgment, not only leaves no Place to hope for Impunity, but makes the Obligations to Duty of equal Strength, at all times, and in all places. An Honour, which the *Atheiſts* themſelves do in effect grant to Religion; inaſmuch as nothing can give Colour to their Suggeſtion, 'That it is an 'Invention of Politick Men to keep the 'World in Order,' but that the Ties and Reſtraints which it lays upon Mankind, are

are in their Nature and Effects a ſingular Advantage to Society and Government.

But beſides this *Natural* Tendency in Virtue and Goodneſs to the Eſtabliſhment of States and Kingdoms; as many as believe Religion, muſt likewiſe believe that the general Practice of it in a Nation, will be always attended with a *Supernatural* Bleſſing from God. For this is the Reſult of all the Declarations of God, as to the Manner and Rule of his Dealings with Mankind, whether Perſons or Nations, That as many as faithfully ſerve and obey him, ſhall be aſſuredly intituled to his Favour and Protection. But in the diſpenſing of *Temporal* Proſperity, and in the Degrees of Aſſurance that Virtue and Goodneſs ſhall receive their Reward *in this World*; there ſeems to be ſome Difference between the Caſe of particular Perſons, and the Caſe of whole Nations. As to particular Perſons, we ſee that Poverty and Afflictions are oft-times the Portion of very religious and good Men, in their paſſage through this World, while many wicked Men are ſuffered to live and die in Power and Plenty. And the Reaſon is, becauſe both are capable of *future* Rewards and Puniſhments, and for that End are accountable to God in the next World, where the

the Divine Juſtice will manifeſt it ſelf, in the Reward of the Righteous, and the Puniſhment of the Wicked. But Nations as ſuch, which are united and incorporated for the Ends and Purpoſes of this World only, are to have no *Being* in the next; and ſince they are uncapable of *future* Rewards, it follows, That National Virtue muſt either be rewarded with National Bleſſings now, or not be rewarded at all; and if the Suppoſition of no Reward is inconſiſtent with the Divine Juſtice, the Conſequence will be, That a general Practice of Virtue and Goodneſs, *intitles* a Nation to ſuch *Temporal Bleſſings*, as may moſt conduce to the Strength, Proſperity and Eſtabliſhment of the whole.

Having thus far ſhown, how greatly Religion, and the Practice of it, contributes to the Eſtabliſhment of States and Kingdoms; I will now proceed to the Second General Head;

II. That therefore in every Nation, it is the proper Buſineſs of the Civil Magiſtrates, as ſuch, to vindicate and maintain the Honour of Religion. And throughout this Head, by the Civil Magiſtrates, will be chiefly meant the Subordinate Miniſters of Juſtice under the Prince, with Re-

Regard to the ſeveral Diſtricts which their Influence more immediately reaches. There they are placed, with ſufficient Authority, for the great Ends of Peace and Order; and we have already ſhown, that theſe cannot be preſerved, nor by conſequence the Deſign of their Inſtitution anſwered, without a juſt Reverence of Religion on the Minds of the People. From whence it follows, That the Honour of Religion is not only a Part of the Magiſtrate's Care, but a fundamental Part; without which it is impoſſible to attain the great Ends of the Inſtitution, but which being firſt taken care of, *prevents* much of the Evil, and renders the Execution of the Office, where there is need, eaſie and ſucceſsful. And therefore in all Ages and Nations, it has been a conſtant Rule with the wiſeſt Lawgivers, whether Heathen or Chriſtian, to make the Honour of *Religion* their firſt Care; that, wherewith the Civil Magiſtrate was more eſpecially charged, and for the Violation whereof the ſevereſt Penalties were always provided.

But in a Chriſtian Country, every *Civil* Magiſtrate is obliged to conſider himſelf alſo as a *Chriſtian* Magiſtrate; as one, who has not only received a Commiſſion from the Prince, to maintain Peace and Order

Order in the State; but who has alſo, thro' the Hands of the Prince, received a Commiſſion from God, to maintain the Honour of his Religion upon Earth. It was foretold by the Evangelical Prophet *Iſaiah*, what great Comfort and Support Religion ſhould receive from Chriſtian Princes in the Times of the Goſpel, *Kings ſhall be thy nurſing Fathers, and Queens thy nurſing Mothers*: And the Apoſtle calls them the *Miniſters of God*; and tells us, That the End of his veſting that Power in them, is, *for the terror of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well.* And indeed, ſince Civil Power and Authority is from God, it would ſeem ſtrange, if that Authority were to be exerted only in puniſhing the Breach of human Laws for the Safety of Men, and were not to concern it ſelf in vindicating the Divine Laws, for the Honour and Glory of Almighty God. It is the Duty of every Chriſtian, in the moſt private Station, to diſcountenance Vice and Wickedneſs to the utmoſt of his Power: It is further the Duty of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, to Exhort, Reprove, and Admoniſh, as being an Order of Men, inſtituted by Chriſt for thoſe Ends: But when the beſt Endeavours of pious Chriſtians and painful Miniſters, cannot

Iſa. xlix. 23.

Rom. xiii. 3, 4.

not keep Irreligion and Profaneneſs from appearing barefaced in Defiance of the Divine Laws, as, God knows, in this degenerate Age and Nation, it is too plain they cannot; then the Cauſe of God and Religion implores the Aid of the Civil Magiſtrate, and calls upon him to be a Terror to thoſe notorious Workers of Iniquity, who having harden'd themſelves againſt the gentler Methods of Inſtruction and Reproof, are going on, openly and reſolutely, in Swearing, Drunkenneſs, Uncleanneſs, Profanation of the Lord's Day, and in the like wicked and ungodly Practices, without any Reſtraint of Shame or Conſcience.

And as Religion implores the Aid of the Prince, ſo the Prince commands the Aid of the Subordinate Miniſters of Juſtice, who are his Eyes and Ears within their ſeveral Diſtricts; and, being appointed his Watchmen, are obliged by the nature of their Office to great Vigilance in the Work committed to their Care. And, for a further Argument to Vigilance and Reſolution in that Work, it is to be remember'd, That the Power which they have receiv'd, as it is in the Civil ſenſe a Commiſſion from their Prince, ſo is it alſo in the Chriſtian ſenſe a Talent from God, to be

diligently improved to his Glory and the Good of Mankind; and if they neglect to improve it to thoſe great Ends, they ſtand accountable to God for the Abuſe of his Talent, and to the Nation, for the Judgments which may fall upon it thro' their Neglect and Connivence.

And when I am ſpeaking of Authority, and the vigorous Application thereof by the Magiſtrate, I cannot omit one Thing, which is a mighty Enforcement of it, I had almoſt ſaid, which will ſuperſede it, and render the Exerciſe of it in great meaſure needleſs, *viz.* a *Good Example*; which in its Nature is the moſt forcible Way of teaching and correcting, and without which, neither the Inſtructions of Miniſters, nor the Authority of Magiſtrates, can avail, to the effectual Diſcouragement and Suppreſſion of Vice. They who are made the Publick Miniſters of Juſtice, are generally Perſons of Figure and Diſtinction: Their own Families are uſually numerous, their Dependants much more ſo, and the Extent of their Influence ſtill larger. All theſe Eyes are turned upon Them and their Behaviour; and the Minds of all, as they are Inferiors, ſtand naturally bent to the Imitation of thoſe their Superiors. So that a Magiſtrate, who is ſo-

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ber and exemplary in his own Life, and maintains Chriſtian Order and Regularity in his own Family, and, above all, who gives a Publick Teſtimony of his Zeal for Religion, in a devout Attendance on the Worſhip of God; To ſuch an one may well be applied what our Saviour ſays of *John* the Baptiſt, That he is a *burning and ſhining Light* among his Neighbours; and it may be truly ſaid of him, that he fulfils that great Precept of our bleſſed Saviour (which, tho' a ſtanding Rule to Chriſtians in general, ought more eſpecially to be remember'd by Perſons in Authority) *Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.*

John v. 35.

Mat. v. 16.

I paſs on to the *Third* and laſt General Head,

III. That without a ſerious Regard to the Moral and Spiritual Duties of Religion, the greateſt Zeal in other Matters, even though it be for the Eſtabliſhed Worſhip of God, will not ſecure the Divine Favour and Protection, either to Perſons or Nations.

The External Rites of Religion, are good Helps to Devotion, and proper Means of

maintaining Order and Decency in the Publick Worſhip of God; and a Zeal to preſerve them, with a ſerious Regard to thoſe pious and wiſe Ends, is very laudable: But to believe that Zeal for *them* will atone for the Neglect of the Moral and Spiritual Duties of Religion, is an Error very dangerous to the Souls of Men.

Under the Name of *Moral* Duties, I comprehend all thoſe, which Natural as well as Reveal'd Religion has taught us, with regard to God, our Neighbour, and our Selves. Such are, with regard to God, Love, and Fear, and Honour; an humble Truſt in his Goodneſs, and a patient Submiſſion to his Will in all things: With regard to our Neighbour, Truth and Juſtice, Mercy and Charity: And with regard to our Selves, Meekneſs and Humility, Sobriety, Temperance and Chaſtity; Diligence in our Calling, and Contentment in our Condition. By *Spiritual* Duties, I mean thoſe which are more immediately performed by the Heart or Spirit, and the Exerciſe of which has a direct Tendency to raiſe our Souls to a ſpiritual and heavenly Frame; ſuch are, Meditation and Devotion, Examination of our Lives, Repentance for our Sins, and the like. Theſe Duties, the Moral, as generally founded in the

the Nature of God, and the Spiritual, as immediately tending to make Man like to God, are the Life and Soul of Religion; and as on one hand (in the Words of the Apoſtle on a like Occaſion) *he that in theſe Things ſerveth Chriſt, is acceptable to God*; ſo on the other hand, it is in vain to hope, that without theſe the greateſt Zeal about the External Parts of Religion will be accepted of him. Rom. xiv. 18.

But, however agreeable thoſe Duties are to Reaſon and Religion, they are by no means agreeable to the Luſts, and Paſſions, and corrupt Inclinations of Men; who, when they are conſcious of great Neglects in the ſubſtantial Parts of Religion, and find no Diſpoſition in themſelves to ſecure the Favour of God that way; are willing to come up to ſome *Show of Religion* that is leſs diſagreeable to corrupt Nature, and to atone for the want of inward Piety and Goodneſs, by a ſtrict Care and an immoderate Zeal about outward Performances. The *Jews* were exceeding punctual in Sacrifices and Solemn Faſts, in Waſhings, and other legal Ordinances; and they had fully perſuaded themſelves, that theſe were the Things which God delighted in, far more than in Juſtice, Mercy and Truth. In like manner, the *Papiſts*, to obtain Pardon

Pardon and Indulgence for their Sins, will readily ſubmit to Pilgrimages, Corporal Penances, and Pecuniary Mulcts, or any thing but true Repentance and Amendment. And they have among them one Article of this outward kind of Merit, which is not only like that of the *Jews*, but exactly the ſame; I mean, Zeal for the Honour of the *Temple*, and the *Church*. It appears by the Text, that when the Prophet denounced Judgments againſt the *Jews* for their Sins, they alledged their Relation to the Temple and their Zeal for it, as a full Proof that God could not be angry with them. And the Reaſon why the *Temple of the Lord* is thrice repeated in the Text, is not, as ſome Interpreters have fanſied, becauſe it conſiſted of three Parts, or becauſe they repaired to it three times in the Year; but evidently this, that the Cry of the *Temple* was loud and frequent among them, and their Zeal for it ſo meritorious in their account, as to be a full Atonement for thoſe Neglects, which the Prophets charged upon them with regard to the Moral Duties of Religion. And as to the *Papiſts*, it is well known, that there are no Impieties or Villanies ſo great, but what are excuſed, and even ſanctified among them, if they have been

been committed in the Service of the Church; and Vice and Immorality is par-don'd there, far more eaſily, than the leaſt Oppoſition to what they call the Catho-lick Cauſe.

I am ſorry to ſay it, but it is too viſible to be denied or concealed, that this Piece of *Popery*, among others, is flowing in up-on us; while the Name of the CHURCH is lent to a Party in the State, and all Per-ſons without Diſtinction are liſted under it, and the moſt profane and vicious amongſt us are not only admitted, but even invi-ted and preſs'd, to wear the Name. And while the Superiours ſet ſo high a Value upon thoſe good Wiſhes and Services to what they call the Cauſe of the Church; the Inferiours are eaſily led to believe, that ſuch a diſtinguiſhed Zeal for the Church, being ſo much magnify'd by Per-ſons ſo much more knowing than them-ſelves, muſt undoubtedly have Merit e-nough in it, to atone with God for many Failings and Defects in other Parts of their Behaviour. The hopes of which, and the Streſs they lay upon it, with the Eaſe it gives to the Minds of Sinners, may probably be one Reaſon, why the Name of the CHURCH is moſt in the Mouths of ſuch Perſons, in the midſt of

their

their Riots and Exceſſes. And, conſidering how deſirous wicked Men are, to ſhelter themſelves from Shame and Remorſe by any Pretences and Colours of Religion, and what Multitudes there are who ſtand in need of ſuch Shelter; it was certainly good Policy in thoſe Stateſmen, who firſt betray'd the Name of the Church into a Secular Cry. In truth, as it is managed among us, one would think it had been copied from that known Practice in the Times of *Popery*, of ſetting up a Standard for the Wars of the Holy Land, with Plenary Indulgences of Sins to all thoſe who would engage in that meritorious Work. But, however the Belief and Opinion of ſuch Merit may ſerve the Purpoſes of Political Perſons; it is an Opinion very deſtructive to Religious Purpoſes and the Souls of Men: and, being alſo a growing Opinion, the ill Effects and Conſequences of it ought to be diligently guarded againſt both by Miniſters and Magiſtrates: By Miniſters, in frequent Warnings to the People, not to build their hopes of Salvation upon ſuch a weak Bottom, which, without ſubſtantial Piety and Goodneſs, will not ſupport them in the Day of Trial; and by Magiſtrates, in an impartial Execution of the Laws againſt Vice, and not ſuffering

this Political Merit towards Men, to atone in any caſe for Profaneneſs and Immorality againſt God.

The CHURCH is a very Sacred Name; whether we mean by it the Catholick Church, *i. e.* the Congregation of the Faithful upon earth under CHRIST their Head; or this National Church, as one ſound Member of the Church Catholick, eſtabliſhed among us in an orderly Government, Diſcipline and Worſhip: And which ſoever we mean, it ſhould ſeem to be a ſtrange *Chriſtian* Church, where Religion is not the firſt and moſt neceſſary Ingredient in the Character of a Churchman. And as it is true in Nature, that nothing that is Sacred, ought to be proſtituted to vulgar and common Uſe; ſo is it alſo true in Experience, that the proſtitution of the *Names* of Things, derives an unavoidable Reproach and Contempt upon the *Things* themſelves.

For Inſtance, in the Caſe before us (the Name of the CHURCH, as it has been uſed and applied of late days;) Is it the way to maintain the Reverence which belongs to the Church, to give up the Name to be the publick Cry of a Diviſion in the State, and to be toſs'd about by the worſt of Men, in the worſt part of their Converſation,

ſation, in the midſt of Swearing, and Revelling, and Drunkenneſs? Is it any Credit to a National Church, that thoſe Men are moſt furious in her Service, who by all the Rules of the Catholick Church ought to be baniſhed out of her Communion? Can it be for the Honour of the Church of *England* (which makes Duty and Decency to Authority, her diſtinguiſhing Mark) that Riot and Tumult and Sedition are acted under her Name? Is it for the Service of the Church, with regard to the Favour and Protection which She receives and expects from the Civil Power, that her Name be given up to the Management of thoſe, who will not own the Church to be ſafe, till the State is well nigh undone, and *Popery* at our doors? In fine, what Idea muſt all ſober and ſerious Chriſtians have of the *Church*, when they are taught by their Leaders, to acknowledge and reſpect thoſe as its greateſt Patriots, whom they ſeldom or never ſee within the Church; and by the ſame Leaders, are taught to treat thoſe as Enemies to the Church, whom they not only know to be unblameable and exemplary in their Lives, but whom their own Eyes ſee to be conſtant and ſerious in the publick Service of the Church?

These and the like Reproaches are unavoidably brought upon the Church, by making that sacred Name an Engine for cunning Statesmen to work with; which being once put into their hands, makes them in effect a *Center of Unity*, if not to the Church, at least to the Name of it; and Persons are admitted or excluded, not according to the true ancient Tests of good Churchmen, namely, a good Life, with Conformity to the establish'd Government and Worship; but with Allowance to Men to live as they please, and to see the Church as seldom as they desire, provided they be strictly Conformable to such Measures as will support the Interest and Ambition of their Leaders. And because very great Numbers of wise and good Men, of all Ranks and Orders, have found themselves obliged to oppose those Measures, as tending, in their Opinion, to the Destruction of Church and State; for this Reason alone, without the least Defect in point of Conformity, they have been Unchurch'd, and many of them unworthily aspers'd and persecuted as Betrayers of the Church, who have long been, and blessed be God still continue, the greatest Ornaments of it.

There is indeed another Reaſon pretended and alledg'd; namely, That they, and the Proteſtant Diſſenters, are in the ſame common Meaſures in the State: Which is a popular Argument, and ſerves to amuſe the Vulgar; but, I doubt, they who alledge it, will not allow us, in our turns, to call them *Papiſts*, or Favourers of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, becauſe the *Papiſts*, *Nonjurors*, and Diſaffected of all ſorts, are moſt zealous Advocates for them and their Meaſures; and (to ſhow the Sincerity of their Zeal) have ventured to act in their Favour, with far greater Openneſs than our Conſtitution allows. For, in truth, the Argument, tho' as ſtrong to the full in one Caſe as the other, is not concluſive either way; becauſe a Community of Meaſures may be either Criminal or Innocent, according to the Degrees of the Union, and the Deſigns and Views with which the Parties unite. And when theſe are duly attended to, it will be own'd by all, who will own that Popery and Arbitrary Government are the heavieſt Judgments which can befall us, that this Conjunction with Proteſtant Diſſenters in the State, which is made the Foundation of Diſaffection to the Church, has not only been innocent, but

but highly laudable, and even neceſſary to the Preſervation both of Church and State.

The Reſtoration of the Royal Family, which happily fix'd us upon our ancient Foundations in Church and State, might have been a much greater Bleſſing to theſe Nations, had they all return'd with the ſame Proteſtant Principles, in which they had been carefully educated by their pious Father. But under the Influence of a *Papiſh* Mother, and the Example and Perſuaſions of a *Popiſh* Nation, two of our Princes were perverted in their Religion Abroad, and came over (as hath ſince very plainly appear'd) with a Deſign and Reſolution to eſtabliſh Popery in theſe Kingdoms. To this end, they enter'd into the ſtricteſt Confidence with Princes of the ſame Religion; aggrandiz'd the *French* Monarch, who was the great Pillar of the Popiſh Cauſe; ſupported him in diſtreſſing the *Dutch*, the great Strength of the Proteſtant Intereſt; and, to balance their Naval Power, lent the utmoſt Aſſiſtance to make him as formidable at Sea as he was before at Land. At Home, they corrupted the Morals of the Nation (which is one great preparation to Popery,) diſcarded a Proteſtant Miniſtry, whom they found

found untractable to Popiſh Meaſures; advanced thoſe to the higheſt Poſts of Truſt and Honour, who afterwards dy'd profeſs'd Papiſts; and in general, were as openly indulgent to the Papiſts and the Favourers of Popery, as was conſiſtent with the great Averſion of the Kingdom to that Religion.

In this View of Affairs both at Home and Abroad, the Deſign appear'd to be no leſs than the extirpation of the Proteſtant Intereſt and Religion in Europe. And this was early obſerv'd by great Numbers of wiſe Men, who were true Patriots of their Country, and entire Friends to Monarchy and the Church of *England*, as the Laws had eſtabliſh'd them: but, being under the unhappy Neceſſity of oppoſing the Meaſures of that Court, they were quickly branded with the Name of a *Republican* and *Antimonarchical* Party; and, being aſſiſted by the Proteſtant Diſſenters, out of an equal Abhorrence and Apprehenſion of Popery, they were alſo reproach'd with the Name of *Presbyterians*, and Enemies to the Church: The Church it ſelf, all that while, being accounted by the other Diviſion in the State, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing Condition; with a diſguiſed Papiſt on the Throne, and a profeſs'd

Papiſt

Papiſt the Heir Preſumptive, and amidſt all thoſe Stratagems of Popery to deſtroy both Church and State.

That this Union, which was the firſt Colour of charging *Presbytery* upon *Churchmen*, was not a Combination againſt the Church, but a joint Strength againſt Popery, upon very juſt Apprehenſions of it; became clear, when it was well nigh too late: When theſe united Endeavours had prov'd ineffectual, and a Popiſh Prince on the Throne was not *Preparing* us for Deſtruction, as his Predeceſſor had been, but was actually deſtroying us, and openly ſubverting the whole Conſtitution.

In that dreadful Extremity, to which Church and State were reduced by the Follies of Men; it pleaſed God to ſend us a moſt ſeaſonable Deliverance, and to drive Popery to ſeek for Protection under a neighbouring Monarch. But, notwithſtanding all that Experience in former Reigns, no ſooner did the ſame Strength unite, under our Glorious Deliverer, to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of Popery, but the ſame Cry of *Presbytery* was renew'd, and the Church was again in the utmoſt Peril: And it is well remember'd, to what Degree the Authors of thoſe Reproaches perplex'd and obſtructed the Endeavours

deavours of that great Prince, for the Security of our Liberties and Religion.

The Enemy, however, was diſappointed in his main Deſign, of enſlaving us once more to a Popiſh Prince; and, in the next Reign, chiefly by the Spirit and Vigour of that joint Strength which had at firſt united againſt Popery, he was not only diſabled from attempting our Ruin, but by a Courſe of moſt wonderful Succeſſes on our part, was himſelf reduced to the utmoſt Extremity. But it is to be obſerv'd, that as our Victories increas'd, the Danger of the Church increas'd too; and it was not confeſs'd to be in perfect Safety, till we were enter'd into Meaſures, which put an End to our Glorious Succeſſes, and lifted up the Head of the common Enemy, and in a few Years ſunk theſe Nations from the higheſt Pitch of Glory, to the very brinks of Ruin and Deſtruction.

The plain Tendency of this Account is to ſhow, that for many Reigns we have been engaged in one continued Struggle againſt Popery, which has been one continued Warning to us to preſerve the ſtricteſt Union among our ſelves; and, that the Aſſiſtance which Proteſtant Diſſenters have lent to Churchmen, and their purſuing

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the ſame Meaſures in the State, has not been to bring in *Presbytery*, but to keep out *Popery*. So we find in many other Caſes, that Perſons and Bodies, who are of very different Sentiments and Intereſts in all other reſpects, will readily unite for the common Safety, whenever they are threatned with the ſame common Danger; and ſo it particularly happen'd in the Courſe of our late Wars, when we ſaw the ſtricteſt Alliance between Proteſtant and Popiſh Powers, in Defence of the Liberties of Europe. And the preſent Face of Affairs Abroad, and that Spirit of Sedition and Diſcontent which is ſo viſible at Home, are far from being Motives to diſſolve or looſen that Union among our ſelves, to which we chiefly owe our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; the great Security, under God, to our Laws, Liberties, and Religion.

But if, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, the good Wiſhes and Aſſiſtance of Proteſtant Diſſenters to one Diviſion in the State, muſt needs infer a ſecret Affection to *Presbytery*, in thoſe who receive them; the Authors of that Reproach will be obliged to find ſome ſatisfactory Reaſon, why They may not as well be charged with a ſecret Affection to *Popery* and the *Pretender*, under ſuch a full Enjoyment of the good

Wiſhes and Aſſiſtance of Papiſts, Nonjurors, and the Diſaffected of all Sorts. With what Views is it, that the whole Body of theſe Men are ſuch zealous Advocates for one Side; and that their Hopes riſe or fall, as the Power and Intereſt of that Side increaſes or abates? To what Proſpects muſt it be owing, that a Change in the Publick Adminiſtration not many Years ſince, was ſo great Matter of Joy to Popery, and of Sorrow, in proportion, to the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in Europe?

Much more might be alledg'd upon the ſame Head, if this were a proper Place for Expoſtulation. But what I have already ſaid, has been by way of *Defence* only, againſt a wicked Device to turn all Endeavours againſt Popery into Enmity againſt the Church; and ſo far am I from a *Deſire* to Expoſtulate in this Caſe, that I am truly ſenſible how nearly it concerns the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, that all our Diviſions and Animoſities be forgotten and buried; and how much it is the Duty of all, and eſpecially of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, to labour againſt them, and to ſtudy and promote the Things which belong to Peace.

But if Intereſt and Ambition muſt prevail, and, to ſupport theſe, Men muſt be liſted, without Diſtinction of Good or Bad; If from thence Quarrels and Contentions muſt ariſe in the *State*, and theſe grow into Riots and Tumults: Let not the CHURCH, however, be drawn in, either to give Credit to ſuch Practices, or to bear the Reproach of them; but let that Sacred Name remain for ever a Name of Religion, and Loyalty, and Peace. Let the Members of the Church be known by the ancient Teſts, of real Piety and Goodneſs, and a devout Attendance on Her Publick Worſhip: Let all who anſwer theſe Characters, account themſelves Members of the ſame Body, and live in Unity and Godly Love, and join heartily in maintaining the Conſtitution of the Church, and in guarding the Name againſt the Uſurpations of profane and wicked Men, who belong to no Church, but the Synagogue of *Satan*. Finally, Let the Safety of the Church be built upon a Foundation, that is fairly conſiſtent with the Safety of the State; and, as it ſtands in many reſpects Incorporated with the State, let it be the great Example of Duty and Decency to Authority, and the conſtant Promoter of Peace and Order.

This is a truly Chriſtian CHURCH; ſuch a Church, as Man will reverence, and God will undoubtedly bleſs and protect.

Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, be aſcribed all Honour, Power, Praiſe, Might, Majeſty, and Dominion, henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

28 SEC 50

A SERMON OF *The great Sin of* MURMURING, *After* Deliverances.

PSALM CVI. 43, 44.

Many times did he deliver them; but they provoked him with their Counsel, and were brought low for their Iniquity.

Nevertheless, he regarded their Affliction, when he heard their Cry.

THIS and the foregoing Psalm were composed by King *David*, and by him delivered to the *Levites*, to be solemnly recited to the People in their daily Ministration. They contain a short but

but diſtinct Account of the Diſpenſations of God to their Nation, from the time they received the Promiſe of the Land of *Canaan*, to their final Eſtabliſhment in that Land. The firſt, is a relation of the many Signal Providences of God, in his guiding and conducting their Fathers, from the Days of *Abraham* to their Deliverance out of *Egypt*; and the ſecond (which reaches from the Time of that Deliverance, to their poſſeſſion of the promiſed Land) is a mixture of Mercies and Deliverances on God's Part, and of Murmurings and Rebellions on the part of the People. Which being but too juſt a Deſcription of the Goodneſs of God to theſe Nations, and of our provoking and undutiful Returns, is choſen on that account for the Subject of my preſent Diſcourſe: And the Text will naturally lead us to take a View,

Firſt, Of the Deliverances and Murmurings of the *Iſraelites*.

Secondly, Of the Reſemblances between thoſe, and the Deliverances and Murmurings of *theſe Nations*. To which I will add,

Thirdly, A brief Application, with regard to our preſent State of Things.

Firſt,

First then, Of the Deliverances, and Murmurings, of the *Iſraelites*. What the Bondage was from which they were deliver'd, is ſet forth in the firſt Chapter of the Book of *Exodus*; The *Egyptians made the Children of* Iſrael *ſerve with Rigour*, *ver.* 13. —— *they made their Lives bitter with hard Bondage*, *ver.* 14. —— and the Command of *Pharaoh* to the Midwives (*ver.* 16.) to deſtroy all the Male Children as ſoon as they were born, made it evident, that nothing leſs was intended, than their utter Extirpation.

Under theſe Oppreſſions, and Apprehenſions of Ruin, the People cry earneſtly to God for Succour and Protection; and God graciouſly hears their Cry, and ſends *Moſes* his Servant to be their Deliverer; *I have heard their Cry, I know their Sorrows*; *Now, therefore, behold the Cry of the Children of* Iſrael *is come unto me*; *and I have alſo ſeen the Oppreſſion wherewith the* Egyptians *oppreſs them: Come now therefore, and I will ſend thee unto* Pharaoh, *that thou mayeſt bring forth my People the Children of* Iſrael *out of* Egypt. Accordingly *Moſes*, having receiv'd this Commiſſion, delivers them from their Bondage, and brings them out of *Egypt* by a Series of wonderful Miracles; and theſe, *David*

Exod. iii. v. 7. v. 9, 10.

ſuccinct-

ſuccinctly enumerates, from the 27*th* to the 38*th Verſe* of the firſt of thoſe Pſalms; that they might be kept in everlaſting Remembrance. And how deep a Senſe the People *then* had of the Divine Goodneſs in the Courſe of that wonderful Deliverance, and how high an Eſteem and Reverence of *Moſes*, their great Deliverer under God; is alſo particularly obſerved in the 14*th* Chapter of the ſame Book: Where, after *their* Paſſage through the Waters on dry Land, and the drowning of the *Egyptians* in the Sea, it is added; *And*
v. 31. Iſrael *ſaw that great Work, which the Lord did upon the* Egyptians; *and the People feared the Lord, and believed the Lord and his Servant* Moſes.

But no ſooner did they think themſelves out of the reach of Danger, but their late Slavery, and their Fears and Apprehenſions of Ruin, were quite forgotten; no ſooner did they loſe the Sight of the *Egyptians*, but they loſt the Senſe of the Hand of God; no ſooner was their Deliverance wrought, or rather begun, but they ſet themſelves, in Complaints and Murmurings, againſt their Deliverer.

Their firſt Complaint was, That *Moſes* had changed their Condition for the worſe, in point of *Plenty*. They were of courſe

to

to travel through a great Wilderneſs, and could not hope, in reaſon, to find Accommodations exactly to their minds, in all Places where they pitched their Tents: But yet, forgetting the Miſeries from which he had juſt deliver'd them, and the pleaſant and fruitful Land to which he was conducting them, they lay hold of every little Inconvenience, to revile and accuſe him, and even to upbraid him with bringing them out of *Egypt*. In one place the Waters were not *ſweet* enough; and then preſently, *The People murmured againſt* Moſes, *ſaying, What ſhall we drink?* Exod. xv. 23. and again, *The People murmured againſt* Moſes, *and ſaid, Wherefore is this that thou haſt brought us out of* Egypt, *to kill us and our Children, and our Cattel, with Thirſt?* Exod. vii. 3. In another place, their Bread happen'd to fail; and then, as we find, *The whole Congregation murmured againſt* Moſes *and* Aaron, *and ſaid unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the Land of* Egypt; *when we ſat by the Fleſh-pots, and when we did eat Bread to the full: for ye have brought us forth into this Wilderneſs, to kill this whole Aſſembly with Hunger.* Exod. xvi. 2, 3. Upon this, God gives them *Manna* from Heaven; but

within a while, they grow weary of that too, and will not be content till they have Change of Proviſion; and, in the mean time, they fly upon *Moſes* with as much Fury and Reſentment as ever, *We remember the Fiſh, which we did eat in* Egypt, *freely; wherefore have ye brought us out of* Egypt *to die in the Wilderneſs? For there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our Soul loatheth this light bread.*

Num. xi. 5. xxi. 5.

Their next head of Complaint was, That *Moſes* had expoſed them to great *Perils*, and engaged them in a *dangerous War*. Even before they were quite deliver'd, they reproach'd him to his face for the Dangers he had brought upon them, by *attempting* their Deliverance: For, when they ſaw the *Egyptians* marching after them, they ſaid unto *Moſes*, *Becauſe there were no Graves in* Egypt, *haſt thou taken us away to die in the Wilderneſs? Wherefore haſt thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt?* And, in like manner, when the Spies who were ſent to view the Land of *Canaan*, brought back a Report, that the People were ſtrong, and lived in walled Cities; and the *Iſraelites* found, that they were to engage in a long War, before their Deliverance could be finiſh'd; then

Exod. xiv. 11.

then (as we read) *They murmured againſt* Moſes *and againſt* Aaron; *and ſaid unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of* Egypt, *or would God we had died in the Wilderneſs: Wherefore hath the Lord brought us into this Land, to fall by the Sword; that our Wives and our Children ſhould be a prey?* *Num.* xiv. 2, 3.

The Third Sort of Grievance, was *Partiality in the Adminiſtration*; that they who were equal in Figure and Abilities, were not made equal in Favour and Station, and that the Publick Adminiſtration ought to be ſpread into more Hands. This was the Quarrel of the *Levites* againſt *Aaron*, and (as it ſeems) of the Princes againſt *Moſes*; and, being a joint Diſcontent in Religion and Policy, and engaged-in by Perſons of Power and Reſentment, it did not end, as the reſt had done, in murmuring and reviling, but broke out into an open Rebellion, under the Management of *Corah*, the Son of *Levi*, and of *Dathan* and *Abiram* two of the Princes; who having formed a Conſpiracy, *Took men and roſe up before* Moſes, *with certain of the Children of* Iſrael, *two hundred and fifty Princes of the Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, men of renown*; *Num.* xvi. 2.

and gathered themſelves together againſt Moſes *and againſt* Aaron.

Theſe were the Grievances, with which *Moſes* ſtood charged. And as to the *People*, there appears, in the whole courſe of *their* Behaviour, a forgetfulneſs of their late Slavery, a wearineſs of their Deliverance, and a longing to return into *Egypt*: which, we ſee, they plainly intimate on many Occaſions; and at one time, had carried the Deſign ſo far, as to propoſe to chuſe a Leader, who ſhould conduct them back, *And they ſaid one to another, Let us make a Captain, and let us return into Egypt.* Not that we can ſuppoſe (as perverſe and ſtupid as they were) that they could ſo ſoon have loſt *all* ſenſe of the Oppreſſions and Miſeries which they had ſo lately felt; but probably they flattered themſelves, that one King of *Egypt* having paid ſo dear for oppreſſing them, this would be freſh in Memory; and that the ſucceeding Kings, taking Example by his Misfortunes, would indulge them the free Enjoyment of their Liberties and Religion, and not venture upon the ſame oppreſſive Methods, for fear of the ſame Fate.

Num. xiv. 4.

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We ſee then, wherein it was, that the great Provocations of the Children of *Iſrael* lay, or, as the Text expreſſes it, How it was that *they provok'd God with their Counſel.* He heard their Cry, and delivered them in the Day of their Diſtreſs; and they were no ſooner deliver'd, but they fell to murmuring againſt their Deliverer, and even againſt the Deliverance it ſelf. He reſcu'd them, with a mighty Hand and an out-ſtretch'd Arm, from terrible Oppreſſions, and from the Fears of imminent Deſtruction; but they quickly forgot both their own Miſeries, and the Hand of God. The plain Purpoſe of God, was to work for them a *thorough* Deliverance; but they grew out of patience before the Work was half done, and ſet themſelves to *defeat* the Counſels of God; all the while he was labouring their Salvation, they, in effect, were labouring their own Deſtruction. It was God's deſign to put them in a full and free Enjoyment of two of the moſt valuable Bleſſings upon Earth, their Religion and Liberty; but ſo far were they from concurring with God in this gracious Deſign, and ſhowing the Value they had for theſe great Bleſſings, that they would not ſubmit to the leaſt hardſhip or difficulty,

to

to obtain and ſecure them; on the contrary, they were deſirous to return to Slavery and Superſtition, and ready, on all occaſions, to Sacrifice both Religion and Liberty to their own Humours and Reſentments. And finally (to ſhow themſelves irreconcileable to the methods of God, for making and continuing them a glorious Nation,) when they had vexed and tired the Soul of their Deliverer, even to Death, and God, in great Mercy, had rais'd up *Joſhua* to be their Leader, and, under his Conduct, had made them to triumph over the Heathen Nations, and had eſtabliſhed them in the Promiſed Land, to be a Terror to thoſe Nations, and to preſerve his true Religion pure and unmix'd; then did they enter into Friendſhip with that Idolatrous People, and, mixing with them, were infected with their Superſtitions, and grew by degrees into a liking of them and their Idolatries.

This was the Caſe of the perverſe and rebellious *Iſraelites*; and, God knows, it is too much the Caſe of theſe Nations: Such have our Dangers been, ſuch the Deliverances we have received, and ſuch the Provocations we have offer'd. As it is in the Text,

Text, *Many times hath God delivered us, but we have provoked him with our Counſel, and have been brought low for our Iniquity. Neverthelefs* (hitherto) *God hath regarded our Affliction, and heard our Cry.* Pſal. cvi. 42, 43.

II. For, to proceed to the 2d Head, namely, the Reſemblance between the Deliverances and Murmurings of the *Iſraelites*, and our own; Do not many of us *remember* * the Day, when we were upon the point to be made Slaves to a foreign Yoke, and every Heart trembled for the Ark of God, for the True Proteſtant Religion profeſs'd and eſtabliſh'd among us? When we ſaw our Laws and Liberties openly violated, and Superſtition and Idolatry flowing in upon us, and nothing more evidently intended, than the Deſtruction of all our Civil and Religious Rights?

* *King* James 2d's *Reign.*

In this great Extremity, what Courſe did we take? We cry'd earneſtly to God for Mercy and Succour; and God graciouſly heard our Cry, and ſent us a moſt ſeaſonable and wonderful Deliverance. But as ſoon as ever our Fears and Apprehenſions were over, We, like the *Iſraelites*, fell to murmuring and complaining; to magnify

nify the Peace and Plenty of former Reigns, and to charge our Deliverer with involving us in a *National Poverty*, and a *hazardous War*. When, in truth, the ſeeming Tranquillity which we had enjoy'd before, was nothing elſe but a ſupine Neglect of the Publick Safety, and a fatal Connivence at the growing Power of a neighbouring Monarch: As a vigorous War to reduce that Power, was abſolutely neceſſary to complete our Deliverance, and to remove thoſe Dangers in which our former Security had involved us. The ſetting Bounds to that Exorbitant Power, was what our Deliverer had made the great Work of his Life; being raiſed up by a Special Providence of God to be a Scourge to *Popery* and *Tyranny*. And tho' he was forc'd, by the Perverſeneſs of Men, to leave that great Work imperfect; yet, that his Zeal for Religion and Liberty continued in its full Vigour to the laſt, we need no other Teſtimony, than the *Noble Legacy* which he bequeath'd to us with his dying Breath, and which by the Bleſſing of God we now enjoy, *The Succeſſion to the Crown in the Proteſtant Line*. By this laſt Act of his Life, he did, as it were, ſhew us the Promiſed Land; that happy

happy State, into which when we were once paſs'd, it ſhould be in every Man's Power, if he pleaſed, to ſit quietly and ſecurely *under his Vine and under his Fig-tree.*

And when that precious Life was ſpent and worn out, by Fatigues Abroad, and much more by Vexations at Home; it pleaſed God to raiſe up a Great Commander, who, like another *Joſhua*, led forth our Armies and vanquiſhed our Enemies, made us a Terror to the Nations round about us, and carried theſe Kingdoms to a pitch of Glory, beyond the Example of former Times. But when the great Work which our firſt Deliverer had begun, was in effect completed, and no Enemy remained who could withſtand or hurt us; then (as it is in the Text) *did we again provoke God with our Counſel, and were brought low by our Iniquity:* by the ſame Iniquity, that brought the *Iſraelites* ſo low; the Iniquity of making a League with the Idolatrous Nations, and by that, paving an eaſie Way for the Return of *Popery* and *Slavery*.

How melancholy our Proſpect was, and what gloomy Thoughts and Apprehenſions had ſeiz'd the Minds of all true Lo-

vers of their Country, is ſtill freſh in every one's Memory. But when the Cloud which we ſaw hanging over our Heads, ſeem'd ready to break, and we had nothing in view, that could cover us from the Storm and ſave our Religion and Liberties from being ſwallow'd up; then again, as the Pſalmiſt ſays in the Text, *God regarded our Affliction*, and raiſed us from the Depths of Deſpair, to the moſt comfortable Hopes and Aſſurances of Safety, under the immediate Protection of that Bulwark, which our wiſe Deliverer had provided, for the perpetual Security of our Religion and Liberties, 'Our now Gracious SOVERAIGN, and His ROYAL ISSUE.

After ſuch Signal Deliverances, and ſo many Teſtimonies of the Divine Care and Goodneſs watching over us, we might well hope, that thoſe reſtleſs Spirits would not go on longer to fight againſt God, or, as the Text words it, *to provoke God with their Counſel.* When we ſaw a PRINCE, renown'd for Wiſdom and Goodneſs, in full Poſſeſſion of the Throne, with the ſeeming Unanimity of all Orders and Degrees; we began to think, that Men were at laſt content to be happy:

py : And eſpecially, when we ſaw the Throne ſurrounded with a numerous Iſſue, under the Guidance of a Royal Pair, no leſs zealous for the Safety, Honour, and Happineſs of theſe Kingdoms, than their Royal Father ; we then thought our ſelves out of the Reach, not only of Danger, but even of Diſturbance ; we believed, that none would be ſo *hardy* and *deſperate*, as to *attempt* the unhinging an Eſtabliſhment ſo firmly fix'd, the cutting off ſuch an *Entail* of Happineſs, as they ſaw ſettled upon us by the Hand of Providence.

But we quickly found, how vain it is to hope, that *Popery* will ever ceaſe to labour the Extirpation of Hereſy and the Deſtruction of Hereticks ; or that the ſweeteſt Diſpoſition, the mildeſt Government, and the ſtricteſt adherence to the Conſtitution in Church and State, can quiet or engage Minds, which are ſway'd by Intereſt and Ambition, Envy and Revenge. The Flames of Diſcontent and Sedition, which we hoped were well nigh extinguiſh'd, we found had been only ſmother'd ; and, being fann'd into a new Rage by the late Diſappointment, were breaking out a-pace with greater Fury.

Endeavours had been long uſing, to bring the Minds of the People to more favourable Thoughts of the Doctrines and Deſigns of *Popery*; and thoſe Pills had been ſwallow'd ſo greedily, and had poiſon'd ſo deep, that the Impreſſions of a *Popiſh* Reign were well nigh defaced, and the Accounts of it, however terrible in themſelves, began to be little more than Speculation and Amuſement. Nay, ſo far are many, who yet call themſelves Proteſtants, from retaining their ancient Averſion to *Popery*, that they are brought at laſt to think it a Deliverance; and yet thoſe very Minds, which ſtand ſo clear of all Fears and Apprehenſions of Miſchief from a *Popiſh* Reign, are the Minds moſt eaſily ſuſceptive of Fears and Jealouſies concerning Deſigns in a *Proteſtant* Reign. And their Appetites, being thus corrupted, have been fed from day to day with Lies and Slanders and the vileſt Miſrepreſentations of Men and Things, and humoured with imaginary Schemes of Miſery and Ruin, which are preparing for Church and State.

By theſe and the like wicked Arts of Ambitious and Deſigning Men, have a People, naturally upright and ſincere, and fam'd

fam'd heretofore for an inviolable Regard to their Liberties and Religion, been betray'd into a ſhameful Indifference for both, or rather into a Love of *Popery* and *Slavery*; and, to make ſure of theſe, they have ſuffer'd themſelves to be inſenſibly carried on from Jealouſy to Murmuring, and from Murmuring to Sedition, and from Sedition to open Rebellion. A Rebellion, without Grievance, and without Provocation; againſt a PRINCE, not only Rightful and Lawful, but wiſe and good, tender and indulgent; concerted by Perſons, whoſe Crimes had rendered themſelves and their Fortunes deſperate, or who were conſcious that their Behaviour in a late Reign, could by no means entitle them to Truſt and Confidence in the preſent Adminiſtration: A Rebellion, engaged-in vigorouſly by *Papiſts* at Home, ſupported liberally by *Papiſts* from Abroad, and carried on by a ſtrange and melancholy Combination of *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, to eſtabliſh *Popery* and preſerve the Church: A Rebellion, in ſhort, begun upon very wicked Motives, and carried on by Methods no leſs wicked; the Succeſs of which, muſt have bereav'd *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants of

of whatever is moſt dear and valuable to them; and therefore, for the Miſcarriage of it, are all true *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants this Day, with very great Reaſon, joining in the ſincereſt and humbleſt Praiſes to Almighty God.

By his Bleſſing upon the Counſels of a wiſe and ſteady Prince, ſeconded by the Vigilance of a faithful Miniſtry and the Valour of a Loyal Army, this wicked and unnatural Rebellion is now at an end. But when the unhappy Seeds of it (*Diſcontent*, *Murmuring* and *Sedition*) will waſte and die; when it is that we ſhall ceaſe to withſtand our own Happineſs, and (as it is in the Text) *to provoke God by our Counſel*, or rather by ſetting up our Counſel *againſt* his, He only knows. To all appearance, we ſeem to be *improving* every day, not only in new Badges and Enſigns of Sedition, but even in new Arts and Methods of Slander. 'When there is nothing in View in the preſent face of Things, that will warrant the Slanders which we would fix upon the Adminiſtration; the Miſchief that may but *poſſibly* be attempted, is propagated with as great Aſſurance, and as much Succeſs, as if it were actually executed.'

cuted.' Nay, when the Work of Slander is to be ſerv'd, the ſame Thing ſhall be true and falſe at the ſame time; 'If the Adminiſtration is to be arraigned as unacceptable to the People, every Corner of the Nation is in the utmoſt Diſcontent; but if at the ſame time, new Expedients are propos'd to ſecure our Eſtabliſhment againſt theſe Diſcontents, then there is no *need* of them, every Corner is perfectly calm and quiet.' Further yet; there are Caſes, wherein we have made it *impoſſible* for the Prince, which way ſoever he act, to act right; we have taken care, that Slander ſhall not fail to find its Account equally on either ſide; 'If, for inſtance, Mercy is to be ſhown to Rebels, it is *Fear*; If Juſtice is executed, it is *Cruelty*': The ſame Perverſeneſs, exactly, that our Saviour complains of in the Jews, *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they ſay,* He *hath a Devil*; *The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and of* Him *they ſay, Behold a Man gluttonous and a wine-biber, a friend of Publicans and Sinners.* *Mat.* xi. 18, 19.

III. Things being grown to this perverſe and untoward State, it may not be impro-

improper to ſhut up this diſcourſe concerning Murmuring and Sedition, with an earneſt Application to thoſe among us who are unhappily engaged in that way; to try if they will be brought to a ſober and ſerious ſenſe of the *Unreaſonableneſs* and *Irreligion* of the part they act. Which may anſwer what I propoſed under the 3d general Head, by way of Application to our preſent State of Things.

But before we proceed in this Expoſtulation on the head of *Unreaſonableneſs*, we muſt in the firſt place do right to the *PAPISTS*; who, it muſt be confeſs'd, act a very wiſe and reaſonable part. They deſire, above all things, to ſee *Popery* eſtabliſhed, and themſelves in Power: and to attain their Deſire, they uſe the moſt reaſonable Means; they labour to ſee a Prince of their own Religion upon the Throne. They are bound, both by their Religion and Intereſt, to endeavour the Extirpation of *Proteſtants*; and it is not to be charged as ill Conduct on their part, if Proteſtants will be perſuaded, or rather offer themſelves, to aſſiſt in the Execution. But when *Papiſts* (to keep their *Proteſtant* Friends in Countenance) declare their Zeal for the *Pretender* to be a Zeal for

for *Hereditary Right* abſtracted from Religion; if their Meaning be, that in caſe *Popery* were the eſtabliſhed Religion of theſe Kingdoms, and a Perſon was aſpiring to the Throne in the very Circumſtances of the *Pretender* in all reſpects, except his being a firm and hearty Proteſtant; that they, as *Subjects*, would ſhow the ſame Zeal for the Advancement of a *Proteſtant*, which they ſee now ſhown by *Proteſtants* for the Advancement of a *Papiſt*; if (I ſay) this be their Meaning, certainly the Heart and Conſcience ought to be very well examined, before ſuch Things are admitted into *Dying Declarations*, for the Sake of any Cauſe upon Earth.

In like manner, it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Proteſtant *NON-JURORS* act at leaſt a fair and conſiſtent Part. They have given no Pledges of Fidelity to the Government; on the contrary, many have ſuffer'd in their Fortunes by denying them: and they declare openly, that to give ſuch Pledges, would be to act againſt their Judgment and Conſcience. And ſince the Queſtion, Whether their Judgment be right or wrong, is a point of a Legal and Political Nature; the only Suggeſtion that

can properly be offered from this Place, is, That they make themſelves ſure, upon an impartial Examination of their own Minds, that they *cannot* upon any fair Foundation reconcile themſelves to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; becauſe if they *can* do it, they are certainly *bound* to do it by the ſtricteſt Ties of Duty to their Country and Religion. From thenceforth, the Obligation of Conſcience bears ſtrongly the other way; and if, after that, they ſtill be found in the number of the Murmurers and Seditious, let them remember, that they ſtand accountable to God, the great Searcher of Hearts, for endeavouring wilfully to involve Church and State in all thoſe Miſeries, which (whatever imaginary Schemes they may frame) both Reaſon and Experience teach them to be *inſeparable* from a *Popiſh* Reign.

But however *Papiſts* and *Non-jurors* may thankfully embrace all Aſſiſtances towards the End, to which their own Principles direct; I doubt not, if we could ſee into their Breaſts, but we ſhould ſee there the greateſt Abhorrence and Aſtoniſhment, with regard to thoſe, who, profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion, and being bound by the ſtricteſt Ties of Oaths and Abjurations

ons to ſupport and maintain the preſent Government, are yet as active and zealous as themſelves, to weaken and overthrow our *Proteſtant* Eſtabliſhment, and to come under the Government of a *Popiſh* Prince. It may ſometimes happen to be a queſtion among *Subjects*, Who is their Lawful Prince? or, What are the ſtrict and preciſe Meaſures of their legal Obedience? But certainly, among *Chriſtians*, it is an *unqueſtionable* Doctrine, That Oaths, if unlawful, ought to be refuſed; or if lawfully taken, ought to be kept: That a contempt of Oaths, as they are Solemn Appeals to God, ſtrikes at the very Foundation of all Religion, and has an immediate Tendency to make Mankind *Scepticks* and *Infidels*: That, all *Oaths* apart, Obedience to Government *for Conſcience-Sake*, is a Duty expreſly enjoyn'd in Scripture; and *Murmuring*, *Reviling*, and *Speaking evil of Dignities*, expreſly condemn'd, as manifeſt *Breaches* of that Duty. In a Word, no Chriſtian can pretend to be ignorant, That *Unity*, *Peace*, and *Love*, are the great Doctrines of the Goſpel; nor that *Variance* and *Sedition*, *Striſe* and *Envy*, are the Works of the Devil.

Rom. xiii. 5. 2 *Pet.* ii. 10. *Jude* viii. *Acts* xxiii. 5. *Rom.* xiv. 19. *Gal.* xv. 22. *Epheſ.* iv. 3. *Hebr.* xii. 14. *Gal.* v. 20, 21.

Theſe Things, I ſay, are plainly declared, and earneſtly inculcated, in Holy Scripture; and they ſhow us, what I fear is not generally conſidered enough, that to be a *good Subject* is one neceſſary Part in the Character of a good Chriſtian; and that we are as certainly accountable to God for our Behaviour as Subjects, as we are for our Behaviour in any other Relation or Capacity whatſoever.

That therefore thoſe, who have evidently no Religion, who live in Riot and Exceſs, and in a general Contempt of God and his Laws, ſhould alſo fall into the Sins of Murmuring and Reviling, is not to be wonder'd: But how Perſons, who ſeem in other reſpects to have a ſerious Senſe of Religion, can join daily and hourly in Slander and Sedition, and think themſelves diſengaged from all the Duties of a Chriſtian Subject; this indeed is Matter of great Wonder: and it is no leſs Matter of Lamentation, that they ſhould ſuffer ſo great a Flaw in their own Religion, and bring ſuch an intolerable Reproach upon our common Chriſtianity.

But from this dark and melancholy View; from that part of the Nation who are

are ſecretly *repining at our Succeſs*; let us turn our Thoughts to an Object more pleaſing and comfortable, to thoſe Faithful and Loyal Subjects who are now *rejoycing at their Diſappointment*, and thanking God heartily for the Deliverance of theſe Kingdoms. To them, it muſt be the greateſt Joy and Comfort, that their Oaths and Actions have been all uniform; that all their Prayers, and Wiſhes, have been ſincerely employ'd on the Side of LIBERTY and RELIGION; that, for the Preſervation of theſe, they, on their parts, have fallen in, readily and chearfully, with the Meaſures which Providence had graciouſly laid; and that God, on his part, has heard their Prayers, and proſper'd their Endeavours, and given them ſuch viſible Pledges of a laſting Enjoyment of thoſe invaluable Bleſſings.

In ſo good a Cauſe, and with ſo good Conſciences, let not our Hearts fail or be diſmay'd, though we ſhould be exerciſed yet longer with the Attempts and Provocations of that reſtleſs Spirit. After ſo many Deliverances, and, in them, ſo many comfortable Teſtimonies of the Divine Protection; we ſhould be utterly unworthy of the Mercies we have already received, if we

we did not chearfully rely upon the Care and Providence of God for the time to come; if we ſhould not go on ſtedfaſtly and reſolutely in *His Cauſe*, and be at leaſt as zealous for *Religion* and *Liberty*, as our Enemies can be for *Idolatry* and *Slavery*.

Wherefore (as *Moſes* exhorted the Children of *Iſrael*, in order to their Eſtabliſhment in the Promiſed Land,) *Be ſtrong, and of a good Courage; fear not, nor be afraid of them; for the Lord thy God, he it is that doth go with thee, he will not fail thee nor forſake thee.*

Deut. xxxi. 6.

28 SE30

FINIS.